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THE DISTURBANCE BILL.

THE conduct of the Irish Disturbance Bill has been worthy of its conception. The form of the measure has been changed again and again in the hope of conciliating different classes of opponents, with no result except the proof that a startling innovation had been proposed without any serious examination of the circumstances which purported to justify it, or of the method by which the supposed object was to be attained. At the beginning of the Session nothing of the kind had been contemplated; and, if Mr. O'CONNOR POWER had not brought forward his Bill, Mr. FORSTER would probably never have borrowed its substance and form. The statistics on which the Government relied may have been accurate, but they were misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented. Lord GEORGE HAMILTON convicted the Government of having mistaken processes of ejection for actual evictions, and of having attributed to landlords all the decrees of ejection which had been procured by creditors of all kinds. Mr. GLADSTONE had further misled the House by the surprising assertion that between three and four thousand policemen had been engaged in protecting process-servers. It was not till the misstatement was exposed that Mr. GLADSTONE confessed that he had multiplied the real number of police by the number of cases in which they had been engaged. On the same system the number of metropolitan police might be reckoned at 200,000 or 300,000, though the force really consists of 10,000 men. The explanation may perhaps have been an afterthought to excuse a preposterous blunder. Lord G. HAMILTON showed that in Donegal, where 180 evictions had been returned, only six tenants were dispossessed for non-payment of rent. Mr. GLADSTONE and Mr. FORSTER endeavoured to answer the statement by the assertion that some tenants were for the time only care-takers, liable to expulsion until they had paid their arrears. It is impossible to believe that the Ministers, when they talked about the expulsion of occupiers from their homesteads, only meant to say that they had for the time become tenants at will. The vicious principle of the Bill would probably never have been accepted if Mr. FORSTER and his colleagues had taken time to study the facts of the case.

It will perhaps never be known whether Mr. GLADSTONE and Mr. FORSTER foresaw and defied the alarm and repugnance with which their project has been received by all moderate members of the Liberal party. The all but unanimous opposition or abstention of the Whig aristocracy plainly indicates the uncertainty of the tenure of office by nearly half the members of the Cabinet. Mr. GLADSTONE probably knows by this time that many of his colleagues utterly disapprove of the Bill to which they have for the present assented. One or two of the capricious changes which have been introduced in the form of clauses were probably intended to satisfy the Whig dissidents; but from first to last the Bill bears the marks of confusion and hurry. The Irish ATTORNEY-GENERAL's amendment was probably contrived for the purpose of diminishing the difficulty of landlords in recovering their rent; but it was objectionable as an indirect method of establishing tenant-right in the scheduled districts. Mr. PARNELL and his followers, who had naturally voted for a measure plagiarized from a Bill of their own, at once

protested against a clause which might in some cases be used for the protection of the landlord. Their hostility seems to have surprised and disappointed Mr. GLADSTONE and Mr. FORSTER; and accordingly the extemporaneous amendment of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL was as suddenly withdrawn. It was understood that the Home Rule malcontents were for the moment pacified by the concession; but, having pledged the Government to one of the most obnoxious of their own doctrines, they apparently intend not to allow the Bill to pass. In answer to an appeal from Mr. GIBSON to confine the provisions of the Bill to tenancies of not more than 15l. a year, Mr. GLADSTONE consented to place the limit at 30l. It is certain that the prevailing distress affords no reasonable excuse for a suspension of liability to pay rent on the part of a substantial farmer. In the last preceding edition of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL's clauses, the rights of the landlord were not to be affected if he offered to the tenant some reasonable alternative. The phrase was probably intended to signify the sale of tenant-right in cases where it was saleable. The imposition of the limit of 30l. at once afforded Mr. PARNELL a pretext for opposition. It was, he contended, only in the case of large holdings that there would be anything to sell. His determination to oppose the Bill if he was not bought off by some fresh compromise is more important than his arguments for or against any particular clause. Mr. FORSTER finds himself in the position of a statesman of the later Roman Empire, engaged in buying off a threatened invasion of the frontier. Goths, Vandals, or Huns, from time to time agree to his price; but their demands are incessantly renewed, since it is found that they have a tangible value. The most troublesome enemies receive the fullest consideration. A not inconsiderable section of the Home Rule party which has throughout supported the Government is consequently denounced by Mr. PARNELL as not even deserving the title of Irish members. The Government seems so far to agree in the charge as to assume that Ireland is exclusively represented by obstructives.

The debate which occupied the whole of Wednesday ostensibly turned on the limit of rental to which the measure is to apply; but the digressions into the principle of the Bill were frequent and sometimes instructive. Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL's proposal of a virtual suspension of payment of rent up to 50l. was wholly inconsistent with the original scope of the measure. If substantial farmers are to be protected by legislation against the failure of crops, a precedent will have been established for interference between landlords and tenants in other parts of the United Kingdom. The latest illustration of the weakness and vacillation of the Government is the virtual acceptance of the proposal that the limit shall be extended to 50l. It is apparently a matter of indifference to Mr. GLADSTONE that every concession of the kind may ruin many innocent landowners, not on any reasonable ground of protection to tenants, but solely to relieve the Government from the opposition of an unscrupulous faction. The accident that the change was first proposed by a Scotch amateur shows of itself that it is arbitrary and vexatious. Mr. PARNELL with much ingenuity discovered a reason for objecting to any limit, in the alleged encouragement which might, as he suggested, be afforded to landlords who desired to consolidate holdings. He is probably well aware that, if economical con-

siderations exclusively prevailed, the petty tenants would long since have been evicted. The only pretext for the Bill is the supposed inability of small farmers to pay their rent, and the hardships which they might suffer if they were at present evicted. It is true that more responsible legislators than Mr. PARNELL seem to have forgotten the grounds on which the measure was originally proposed. It was not a little remarkable that a member so intimately connected with the Government as Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH should appeal to the PRIME MINISTER to withdraw the Bill. Mr. FORSTER, whose sincerity is never doubtful, expresses regret and surprise at the alarm which has been caused by his well-meant proposal. His failure to foresee the inevitable consequences of the introduction of the Bill is an additional proof of the haste and carelessness with which the Government entered on a dangerous course. It may be doubted whether any Ministry has within three months from the beginning of its first Session so seriously impaired its credit for prudence and moderation. In that time Mr. GLADSTONE has laid the foundation of a fatal schism in the Liberal party, and he has confirmed the distrust which had been caused by his speeches before and during the election. Of all his miscarriages, the most serious is the Disturbance Bill in its various forms and phases, which have given occasion for a series or cluster of blunders.

THE FÊTE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE great French fête has come and gone and has been a complete success. It excited great enthusiasm, it occupied and absorbed the public mind, it gave great satisfaction to those who planned, and great enjoyment to those who watched. Most fortunately the weather was brilliantly fine, sunshine tempered by flying clouds and a light breeze. There was none of that inopportune rain which drenched TALLEYRAND and those whom Mr. CARLYLE calls his two hundred men in calico, when the Feast of Federation was held on the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. The great event of the day was the distribution of the new flags to the army by the PRESIDENT, and the march past of the troops that followed. Paris turned out the equivalent of three Derby crowds to witness this striking ceremony, and it may be noted to the credit of the Republican Government that no despotism could have better organized the innumerable details of this prolonged spectacle. Everything happened as it was meant to happen. Every one was in his right place, and got out of the way when he was no longer wanted. President GRÉVY, with M. LÉON SAY on his right and M. GAMBETTA on his left, represented France such as France now is, and the trio went through their task with as much gravity and dignity as could have been displayed by the three great EMPERORS of Europe. Punctuality has long been said to be the politeness of Royalty, and it is pleasant to know that a Republican President can be as punctual as a King. Exactly at 12 o'clock President GRÉVY left Paris, and exactly at half-past he reached Longchamps. In the evening there were illuminations, as Paris alone of cities knows how to manage them. Flags, fountains, clusters and festoons of lamps, combined to dazzle and delight the eye. Notre Dame was lit up by some contrivance, which is somewhat incoherently described as making it look as if it had been made of porcelain and producing a weird impression, and which it may be guessed was not altogether successful, but which at any rate was a curiosity. Every advantage was taken of the peculiar disposition of the city, which admits of many sites being chosen with an almost equally good effect. Montmartre and the Buttes de Chaumont make as good theatres for decoration and illumined shows as the Champs Elysées or the gardens of the Tuileries; and the crowd was kept happy and quiet by having, wherever it might be, a neighbouring centre of gaiety and beauty. But what was most striking in the fête was not the review of the army, although it was a most imposing and brilliant sight; nor the illuminations, although in these Paris—which may be called the mother of illuminations—surpassed herself; it was the ardour of the people to make the fête their own. They seem to have been carried away with the idea that they would show they were not having a fête given them, but were giving it to themselves. They were engaged in paying a solemn tribute, not to a dynasty or a family, but to themselves. The dingier the street, the gayer it

was with flags and bunting. The poor spent or borrowed their last farthing to show their gaiety of heart and their pride in the festival of the Republic. Hero-worship never dies out, and something of a personal character was imparted to the spectacle by the exhibition of little wooden effigies of M. GAMBETTA dressed in evening clothes—perhaps the quaintest form of mob idolatry ever devised by man. But there was not very much of M. GAMBETTA, or of any one else, in the festivity. To sing the "Marseillaise" hour after hour, to look at coloured lamps, and to feel that there was a Republic broad as the sky above to guide and bless them, was all that the happy and simple population of Paris seemed to need.

This rejoicing of Republicans in the Republic, not so much as a manifestation of party triumph, but rather as a realization by the people of the Government being its Government, was the great characteristic of the festival. Only secondary to it was what may be termed the wedding of the Republic and the army. Nineteen generals, representing the nineteen army corps of France, stood round General FARRÉ while President GRÉVY spoke to them words meant for the army and for France. The PRESIDENT has lately so completely effaced himself that it is difficult to remember that he exists; and it is therefore satisfactory to find that on this solitary occasion of his visibly emerging into being, he could say exactly the right thing in exactly the right way. He pointed out that to her army, which is now a really national army, France gives the best part of herself, as she gives it all her youth; while in return she receives back this youth disciplined, fortified, full of patriotism and of the love of duty. France has grudged nothing to the new army, and the army has repaid her prodigal affection by learning to be a real army, an army which guarantees to France the respect due to her and the peace which she means to preserve. The PRESIDENT was only saying what every one knows to be true. The French army has had immense sums spent on it since the German war, is in a high state of discipline and efficiency, and is a really national army. How much the French army has improved in the last few years is known to none better than to the great generals of Germany, and the present military power of France is to them a subject of constant and anxious reflection. The army, too, is no longer a caste apart from the civilian population, but is taken from it, belongs to it, and is again merged in it. What the nation wishes the army will wish, and this is the meaning of an army being called a national army. If the nation gets tired of the Republic, the army will get tired of it too. The German army is quite as much a national army as the French army, and is devoted to its EMPEROR. It believes, because Germans generally believe, in the unity of the Fatherland and the leadership of the HOHENZOLLERNS. And if any army deserves to be called national the English army deserves the name. It, like England, believes in the QUEEN and the reign of law. The difficulty of the French Republic is to continue to commend itself to the nation, and this difficulty is not lessened by the present adherence of the army to the Republic. What the Republic has succeeded in doing is that it has freed itself from the danger of the army being used as the instrument of an adventurer forcing or outrunning public opinion, and wading through slaughter to a throne. This is a great achievement, for the Republic may now hope to escape a violent or accidental end. It will live or die on its own merits; but, if it seriously offends or alienates the nation, it will die, not so much in spite of the army being national, but for the very reason that the army is national.

As the fourteenth of July is the anniversary, not only of the taking of the Bastille, but of the Feast of Federation, it is only natural that men should compare the feast of Wednesday last with the feast that was celebrated seventy years ago in the Champ de Mars. Then, too, there was unbounded enthusiasm, and then, too, the people made the fête their own; for they by their own hard work and with their barrows and pickaxes made the gigantic amphitheatre from which three hundred thousand spectators watched the proceedings. All was love, concord, and fervent hope. A Bishop—the queerest Bishop perhaps on record, but still a Bishop—gave the blessing, the KING took the oath of fidelity to the new Constitution, the people went mad with delight. But, as things turned out, this happy day was the last of happy days, and was the precursor of terror and tyranny and bloodshed. What has happened once may, it is thought, happen again; and there is an uneasy

feeling that on Wednesday the Republic was too happy not to provoke ill-fortune. No one can say that this uneasiness is altogether unfounded. There are obvious dangers in the way of the Republic. There may be bad days in store for it. If M. GRÉVY is able to thank the army for its fidelity, M. ROCHFORD is able to thank the Parisians for what he calls "crowding round his humble cab." Wooden images of some much more objectionable person in evening clothes may replace the effigies of M. GAMBETTA. But it is only with very great limitations that Republican Paris in 1880 can be compared with Republican Paris in 1790. Between the population of Paris as it was seventy years ago and as it is now there are two differences, and they are differences so capital that it is hard to get to the end of the consequences they involve. The present population is not starving, and it has conquered equality. Whatever else the French people may have gained or lost in the last ninety years, it has indisputably gained enormously in material wellbeing. We may be sure that a Republic of comparatively rich men will never behave like a Republic of destitute men. And then equality has been won, and has been won so completely that there is now no fear of inequality. In 1790 the people lived in perpetual terror of their late masters. They saw in everything a plot of aristocrats. They even made the amphitheatre on the Champ de Mars with sudden and feverish activity, because they suspected that the aristocrats were secretly delaying the progress of a great national undertaking. Last Wednesday there was silence and gloom in the Faubourg St. Germain. The great people who live there would not make their streets gay in honour of a festival that was odious to them. But no one took the trouble to be irritated by this refusal to share in the popular gaiety. The aristocrats were simply ignored. If they liked to sulk, they might. They were too harmless, too much out of the stream of real life, to be worth noticing. They have nothing to say which any one wishes to hear, and can do nothing which any one need fear. They are left out of the reckoning just as a girls' school is left out of the reckoning in the intercourse of country society. This is a total and radical change from the state of things in 1790, and whatever else we may choose to prophesy or expect, we may be sure that the peculiar phase of disorder which showed itself as the sequel to the Feast of Federation will not show itself as the sequel of the festival which the present rulers of France have just carried out with such triumphant success.

TURKEY AND THE SIX POWERS.

THE Six Powers have, for reasons of their own, presented to the Porte an identic Note on the subjects of the Montenegrin frontier and the proposed reforms in Asia, and a collective Note on the cession of territory to Greece. Though the distinction is at first sight scarcely appreciable by the lay understanding, a collective Note is, according to diplomatic usage, more urgent than a simultaneous presentation of six copies of the same Note, each separately signed by only one of the remonstrating Governments. Mr. GLADSTONE asserts that Turkey has never yet refused submission to the united demands of Europe; and he infers that the same result will follow from the collective Note. The identic Note, or that part of it which relates to Asia, has received an unexpectedly full and favourable reply. The answer of the Porte contains a sketch of an admirable organization which almost deserves to be called a Constitution. The sole drawback to the scheme is that it only exists on paper, and that it is never likely to assume a more practical shape. There are probably no means of testing the truth of the statement that in some districts of the country which is known as Armenia the Mahomedans form 79 per cent. of the population. It is unofficially known that the Porte has protested against the cession of Janina and of three other places, while no objection is offered to the other territorial changes. Much irritation, which may perhaps be partly factitious, is expressed by the Mahomedan population, and the SULTAN is probably not unwilling to exaggerate the importance of a feeling which coincides with his own. Movements of troops from Constantinople to the provinces are reported; but it is uncertain whether the preparations are directed against the Greeks or the conspirators in Bulgaria and East Roumelia. Any attempt on the part of the Greek forces to occupy the territory assigned to

their Government by the Berlin Conference will probably be resisted by the Albanians with the secret countenance of the Turkish authorities. The tribes in another part of the same country have at last engaged in a conflict with the Montenegrins; and both Mussulmans and Catholics will be hostile to the Greeks. An invasion of hilly districts inhabited by warlike tribes would be a rash and doubtful undertaking even if there were not a danger of collision with the Turkish troops. It is highly improbable that the SULTAN will place his forces at the disposal either of the Greek Government or of the Great Powers. The only sign of deference to foreign counsels which has yet been given is the dismissal of OSMAN PASHA from the office of Minister of War. As he is still, however, Marshal of the Palace, he is supposed to retain the confidence of the SULTAN; and it has even been suspected that he may be about to assume a military command.

In any diplomatic discussions which may take place the Turks are likely to have the best of the argument. They can show that the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin in their favour have not been enforced, and that the proposal of a cession of territory to Greece was a simple recommendation. The reasons which influence the English Government, and to a certain extent the other Powers, are of a kind which cannot be explicitly avowed. To the complaint that force has been substituted for the advice which was thought sufficient at the date of the Berlin Treaty, the six Powers can only reply that they expected their mediation to be received with deference, and that they have been disappointed. Their interference in any form can only be justified by their preference of Greek civilization to Mahomedan stagnation; and the Turks can scarcely be expected to recognize their own inferiority as a reason for unequal treatment. It may perhaps be true that the master of many legions may sometimes point to his forces instead of relying on mere argument. The six Powers, or any two of them, are far more than a match for Turkey; but, before legions can be substituted for logic, it is essential to ascertain whether they will be used to support the proposed conclusion. The collective Note, though it is sufficiently peremptory in tone, contains only implied threats and indirect commands. The Porte is well aware that the demand, though it may be jointly preferred, is supported by the signatories of the Note with varying degrees of earnestness. Germany and Austria will not enforce the acceptance of their advice; and it is understood that France would decline an invitation to co-operate with England. The supposed readiness of Russia to send troops to Epirus has excited suspicion and jealousy; and it is difficult to believe that under Mr. GLADSTONE England would engage in an unprovoked war.

Mr. GLADSTONE'S retrospective scheme of imaginary coercion to have been applied to the Porte in 1876 would now be scarcely applicable, even if it might have been adapted to the circumstances of a former time. He has often suggested that, after the Bulgarian disturbances, an English or allied fleet ought to have occupied the narrow seas, with orders to intercept the transit of Turkish troops from the Asiatic to the European shore. He probably assumed that at the same time a Russian army was to invade Bulgaria, with a certainty of success because the Turkish force would have received no sufficient reinforcements. It is not necessary to point out the objections to an anomalous proceeding which was not even publicly proposed at the time, though it may perhaps have existed in Mr. GLADSTONE'S imagination. No such measure would serve the purpose of transferring Janina to Greece. The Albanians and Turks need no aid from Asia to enable them to repel a Greek invasion, though they might be unable to hold their ground against a European army. An English fleet on the coast could exercise no influence over the fortunes of an Albanian campaign, though it might be proper to prevent the Turks from profiting by their great naval superiority to attack or threaten Athens. It might or might not be possible to force the passage of the Dardanelles. In any case the enterprise would be hazardous and uncertain. When the fleet entered the Sea of Marmora in 1877 great anxiety was felt until it was known that the Turkish garrisons had received orders not to oppose the passage of the Straits. It has been lately stated that the forts have been newly armed and victualled, for the obvious purpose, if the report is true, of opposing a movement which would in itself be an act of war. Even if an Eng-

lish fleet were safely anchored off Constantinople, it would find itself practically powerless. It is impossible that it should be employed to bombard the capital, even on greater provocation than the rejection of the advice of the Congress or of the Conference of Berlin. In addition to other reasons for disregarding any such menace, the Turkish Ministers probably know that the English Government is deeply pledged to the maintenance of peace. Even a dull Oriental might be amused at the contrast between a war undertaken by Mr. GLADSTONE and the successful maintenance of peace by Lord BEACONFIELD in the midst of innumerable difficulties.

The backwardness of the late Government in urging the claims of Greece may perhaps be explained by their possessing a clearer foresight than their successors of the difficulty and risk of the undertaking. If Turkey was not to be coerced into submission, it was less undignified to withhold unpalatable demands than afterwards to acquiesce in a refusal. In consequence of the sudden activity of the present Government there is too much reason to apprehend the alternative of a rupture with Turkey or of a humiliating rebuff. The proposition that the Porte necessarily yields to the combined pressure of Europe is subject to the condition that the Powers are prepared to support their demands by force. Peaceable remonstrances will be equally ineffective whether they proceed from six Powers or from one. The Government is well advised in refusing to furnish Parliament and the world at large with the particulars of incomplete negotiations. Lord BEACONFIELD and Lord SALISBURY were often abused for a reticence which was said to be disrespectful to Parliament; but it is much better that their assailants should be inconsistent than that they should disregard the responsibilities of office. There may perhaps be an additional reason for silence, if the Ministers have nothing to tell. It is at least possible that they may not have induced France, Austria, Germany, or Italy, to take measures for the enforcement of the Berlin award; and it is nearly certain that they are not disposed to supply the deficiency. The failures of English foreign policy are, notwithstanding the practice of the late Opposition, not a proper subject for exultation. The most welcome solution would be the common action of the Powers, which would probably cause the submission of Turkey without an actual rupture. The extension of Greek territory at the expense of Turkey would be an advantage both to the population which would obtain a somewhat better Government, and to the peace of Europe. Whether it is worth an officious or disinterested war is a more difficult question. It is not unlikely that the matter may be complicated by an insurrection in East Roumelia or Macedonia. A movement tending to the aggrandizement of Russia, and probably directed by Russian agents, would, unless the national feeling has changed greatly in three or four years, produce disapproval and resentment in England. Mr. GLADSTONE might perhaps endanger his popularity with the mob, while he would aggravate and justify the distrust of other classes, by connivance at a diversion which might perhaps be favourable to the cause of Greece. Those who are best acquainted with Eastern Europe attach the greatest importance to the present crisis.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

ONLY a fortnight of July now remains unexpired, and as Mr. GLADSTONE has announced that he will not think of prolonging the Session into September, or even to the close of August, three weeks are probably all that are to be added to the fortnight of July. Thus Parliament has at the most five weeks more to sit. It is obvious that there is not time for the Government to carry more than a fraction of its measures. At present the only Bill it has distinctly withdrawn is the Irish Borough Franchise Bill. But it must soon make up its mind to throw over other measures. There may probably be no opposition to some of the Government Bills. The Ballot Bill is a mere continuance Bill and cannot be opposed. The Government have three measures in the House of Lords; the Elementary Education Bill, the Scotch Secondary Education Bill, and the Census Bill, which may creep rapidly and quietly through both Houses, although it cannot be taken for granted that any Bill dealing with elementary

education will escape prolonged discussion; and the speedy passing of the Scotch Bill must depend on its receiving the silent approval of the Scotch members. The Savings Banks Bill has not yet been read for the second time; but, if the clause permitting the increase of deposits is abandoned, the remainder of the Bill might be readily accepted. The Customs and Revenues Bill is to receive important changes in Committee, but it must pass; and Mr. GLADSTONE'S authority on questions of finance is so great, that the shape he chooses to give finally to his measure may be expected to be that which it will assume. The Seamen's Wages Bill is in a very backward state; but it might perhaps be pushed forward if the Government wished it, as it is not likely to excite the kind of opposition which is serious towards the close of the Session. There the list closes of measures which, if an optimist view is taken, might be got through with something like care and expedition. The first thing is to get the two Irish Bills out of the way. They have taken up an enormous amount of the time of the House of Commons already and they promise to take up more. It must be remembered that when the Government fixed its programme for the Session no account was taken of these Irish Bills. The Relief Bill was looked on as a means of giving a bonus to Ireland which Ireland would welcome and which England and Scotland would cheerfully grant. As a mere afterthought, a clause regarding evictions was proposed to be inserted in the Relief Bill as a small additional precaution to be taken against the consequences of distress. As things have turned out, the Relief Bill, even after it has been freed from the encumbrance of the Eviction clause, has not yet got through Committee. The Eviction clause of the Relief Bill has grown into a separate measure, which is found to involve some of the most serious questions that could be submitted to the Legislature. Every day it is presented in a new aspect, and although the Government, if it perseveres, is sure to get it in some form or other through the Commons, still it is impossible as yet to conjecture how much of the five weeks will be exhausted in the process.

Supposing the Irish Bills are done with in the Commons and remitted to the Lords, the following measures will remain to be dealt with in the Lower House—the Burials Bill, the Post-Office Note Bill, the Vaccination Act Amendment Bill, the Hares and Rabbits Bill, and the Employers' Liability Bill. In none of these measures has any progress as yet been made. They all come before the House as practically new measures. The Burials Bill has been passed by the House of Lords; but there may be as much discussion over the amendments introduced by the Lords as over a Bill presented for the first time to the House of Commons. The Post-Office Note Bill and the Vaccination Bill raise very large questions of public policy. It may be wise to introduce a small paper currency, and to allow people to spread smallpox if they like to pay a sovereign for their licence; but the wisdom has yet to be shown and brought home to the common sense of the House of Commons. This cannot be done without the consumption of much time, and there does not seem to be any time that can be spared for the process. The Burials Bill, the Hares and Rabbits Bill, and the Employers' Liability Bill, seem to have a clear superiority of importance and attraction. Even if the House of Commons worked at nothing else, and worked day and night, it could scarcely get through these three Bills in time to send them to the House of Lords so as to give the Peers a decent opportunity of discussing them. But it is entirely impossible that the House of Commons should do nothing but discuss these Bills. There are the other Government Bills which may not provoke much comment or opposition, but which must occupy some, and perhaps a not inconsiderable, portion of the little time that is left. There are also two subjects not strictly of a legislative character which will awaken keen interest, and can scarcely fail to give rise to important and perhaps long debates. The Collective Note has been presented to the Porte, and within a month it must be known what course the Porte proposes to take to meet the demands of the Powers, and what is the mode of action which it is proposed to take if the reply of the Porte is not satisfactory. The Ministry will necessarily have to make a statement to the House as to the policy which it has followed, and which it intends to follow during the recess. Whatever it does or does not do is certain to be sharply criticized. Secondly, there will, when the

Indian Budget comes on, be an exposition as exhaustive as Lord HARTINGTON can make it of the present state and future prospects of Indian finance. He has already announced that the Government will propose that England shall assume a substantial portion of the cost of the Afghan war. He has further said that the Indian Government does not consider the general state of Indian finance unsatisfactory; but that he himself is not as yet prepared to say that the Indian Government is right. The House of Commons will probably not be inclined to dispute that some portion of the cost of the war should fall on England; but it will ask to be informed on what principles the distribution is made, and the general question of helping India to pay will be complicated by the special question whether any statistics as to the needs of India can be trusted when they proceed from an Administration which has shown itself incompetent to deal with simple financial calculations.

If the three main Bills that still await discussion cannot be carried, one or more must be sacrificed, and whatever sacrifice is to be made had better be made at a very early date, as it would be a sad waste of time to discuss partially any measure which the Government knows it cannot carry. The Hares and Rabbits Bill presents itself to conjecture as the first victim. It cannot be said to be a matter of very urgent necessity that tenants should begin to kill rabbits this year. The amount of personal feeling, of bitterness, and of uneasiness that would be evoked during the passage of the Bill through the House would be out of proportion to the national gain in having this Bill chosen as the Bill of all others which the Government was determined to pass. The repeal of the Malt-tax is a sufficient redemption for this Session of the pledges and offers by which local candidates won over the farmers in the counties; and, so far as gratitude consists in the expectation of favours to come, the gratitude of the farmers to the Liberals will only be stimulated by their having to wait for another year before they can look on rabbits as inalienably their own. If both the Employers' Liability Bill and the Burials Bill cannot be got through, the Government may probably think that it is the Burials Bill that ought to be sacrificed. The Nonconformists are assured that, so far as anything is certain in politics, it is certain that a Burials Bill to their taste will be passed by the present Parliament. They have won, and may view without much reluctance the postponement for a few months of the formal announcement of their victory. The Employers' Liability Bill cannot so easily be abandoned. It raises questions which excite very keen interest in the minds of workmen, and the Government is too deeply committed to an approval of what the workmen claim to venture on disappointing the expectations it has aroused. The employers, too, who view the Bill with an apprehension which it must be owned is by no means entirely unfounded, would probably prefer that some definite course should be taken, even if they did not quite approve of it, rather than that the future of industrial enterprises should be exposed to a painful uncertainty. It may therefore happen that the Government will, when its Irish Bills are disposed of, get through the Employers' Liability Bill and nothing else, contenting itself with this moderate amount of success, with its Budget, with the passing of a few Bills that may not be seriously opposed, and with the consciousness that it has shown that it loves Ireland, if not wisely, yet too well.

BELGIUM AND THE VATICAN.

THE despatches, or some of them, which have passed between the POPE and the Belgian Government have been published in Rome, but they do not do much to explain the recent discontinuance of diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The independence of M. FRÈRE ORBAN's action in the matter is impaired by the fact that he is only doing in office what he threatened to do when in opposition. In announcing to the Belgian Minister to the Holy See that he had accepted the conduct of foreign affairs, he reminded him that the Liberal party had three times voted for the suppression of the Legation, and he only reserved to himself the right of choosing his own time for taking the step. After this and a similar statement in the Chamber of Deputies it would have been more straightforward if the Belgian Ministry

had not sought to find the occasion they wanted in the words or acts of the POPE. It must be supposed that M. FRÈRE ORBAN intended all along to do what the previous action of the Liberal party had made incumbent upon any Liberal politician who consented to take office without any intimation that on this point he was at issue with his supporters. In that case it seems a little mean to try to fix the responsibility on the POPE. If the Belgian Minister at the Vatican would have been recalled whatever the POPE had done, it cannot be truly said that he has been recalled in consequence of any particular step which the POPE has taken. The Belgian reasons for breaking off diplomatic relations with the Vatican are like the old reasons for drinking. If one had not served M. FRÈRE ORBAN's purpose, another would at once have been discovered.

The interest, such as it is, of this correspondence lies chiefly in the relations which it shows to exist between the POPE and the Belgian bishops. LEO XIII. is, above all things, a constitutional POPE. He seems completely above the common temptation to use arbitrary weapons to ensure the progress of Liberal ideas. During the long pontificate of PIUS IX. the bishops had been reduced to a state of proper insignificance. They were the mere agents of the sovereign Pontiff, and had to the full as little independence as agents usually have. Under LEO XIII. they have ceased to be the mere representatives of the POPE, and have regained something of the dignity which they possessed before Ultramontanism, democracy, and the telegraph had placed them in such constant communication with Rome. The result of this policy has not been favourable to the acceptance of LEO XIII.'s ideas of government. The POPE is exceedingly moderate; the bishops are often not at all moderate. The POPE is exceedingly anxious to keep on good terms with the temporal Governments of Europe; the bishops are often committed to some desperate quarrel with their own Government, to justify which they are disposed to preach the very strongest doctrines as to the general relations between the Church and the civil power. Consequently the POPE has either to adopt his predecessor's methods for the attainment of his own ends, and dragoon the bishops into the acceptance of more liberal ideas; or he has to trust to the slow progress of a better spirit in the Episcopate, and leave them free to act violently now in the hope that hereafter they will be more inclined to use their restored powers in LEO XIII.'s own spirit. In his first dealings with the Belgian bishops the POPE was unexpectedly fortunate. The bishops had given him a plain right to interfere by themselves wandering very far away from the functions ordinarily belonging to spiritual rulers. They were obviously not called upon to abuse the Belgian Constitution, and when the newspapers under their control took upon themselves to do so, the POPE was exercising no undue authority in requesting that such discussions should cease. But when a bishop claims the right of criticizing an Education Bill, it is almost impossible for a POPE to deny it to him. There would have been no real liberality in LEO XIII. if he had tried to prevent the Belgian bishops from speaking their minds on the Education Act of last year because they saw more to disapprove in it than he did. Nor was the POPE himself at all inclined to think well of the measure. It must be recollected that, in the eyes of a POPE, the merits of such legislation as this vary greatly in different countries. What the Church would gladly accept in Prussia or France, where the Governments are hostile and Catholics in a minority, she will not care to accept in a country where she thinks that, by showing fight, she may make better terms for herself. Now Belgium is just such a country. It is true the Liberals are for the moment in power; but they hold office in virtue of a very small majority, a majority which shows no signs of increasing rapidly, and may easily be lost altogether by a single false move on the part of the Government. The bishops think, not unnaturally, that in these circumstances fighting is better policy than surrender. When a Bill which they dislike is brought forward, they have no idea of making the best of it. They look at it in all its aspects; they set to work to estimate the worst that can possibly happen to them if it is passed. If it turns out, as it usually does, that, when one thing has been weighed against another, the Church will rather suffer by the change, they oppose it with all their might. The weapons of their warfare indeed are not carnal, but spiritual; but they are used with a very sufficient spice of carnal zeal. Excom-

munications and refusals of the Sacraments fly about on all sides. In modern times these are the only means left to them of coercing their flocks, and, as their flocks have votes, they must be coerced by any means that offer themselves.

What is a moderate Pope to do when things are in this state? Necessarily his sympathies are with the bishops. He would rather, that is to say, that the law was left as it is. Probably he does not think the proposed change as disastrous as the bishops think it; but he is sorry, nevertheless, that it should be made. He cannot, therefore, take the other side in the controversy. He may think their zeal excessive or their alarm exaggerated, but he will feel that the one is praiseworthy and the other natural, and he will be in no hurry to weaken his influence over them by assuming a tone of impartiality which would certainly be misunderstood by both parties. Englishmen often forget that, among his other characteristics, the POPE is the head of a vast bureaucracy. The chief of a service does not carry his points by openly throwing the service overboard. He is its official defender as regards the outside world, and though he may counsel moderation and throw his weight on the side of compromise, he will be careful to do so with many expressions of fellow-feeling, and many assurances that he is at one with his subordinates as to the character of the opposition they have to encounter, and that he only differs from them as regards the methods of meeting it.

This seems to have been the general drift of the POPE's communications with the Belgian bishops while the Education Bill was under discussion; and it was to be expected that a Government which was on the look-out for an occasion of breaking off diplomatic relations with him, and which meant to manufacture one if none turned up, would find what it wanted somewhere or other in the course of the correspondence. The bishops made the most of the support they had from the Vatican; the Belgian Government made the most of the counter-assurances received from the same quarter; and the POPE himself was probably not disinclined to allow each party to suppose that he was a little more friendly to it than he really was. A disposition of this sort is easily misrepresented by unfriendly critics, and no critic is more unfriendly than the man who wants to pick a quarrel. It would be a mere waste of time to compare the statements made on each side, or to try to estimate the relative accuracy of the descriptions which they give of the cause of the breach. In the present attitude of the Liberal party in Belgium, as in France, a breach was inevitable. The only way in which the hostility of the clergy could have been met without one would have been the State's restricting the clergy within their own sphere, and leaving them entirely unmolested within that sphere. This is a policy which is not to be had from Continental Liberals at present. They are far too angry at finding that the Church is not tumbling to pieces, as, according to their calculations, it should do, to maintain even the appearance of indifference. In Belgium, where parties are still very equally balanced, the prudence of the course which the Liberals seem disposed to adopt is even more doubtful than in France.

THE WHIGS AND THE PARTY OF MOVEMENT.

THE most remarkable occurrence since the general election is the secession of the Whigs from the Ministerial majority on the Irish Disturbance Bill. Politicians widely differing in opinion agree in recognizing the importance of the protest against the policy of the Government, and more than one section regrets the early disclosure of a political schism which had for some time been obviously inevitable. Moderate Liberals congratulated themselves too hastily on the facility for reuniting the party which was offered by the general acceptance of a negative issue. The revolutionary faction, with Mr. GLADSTONE at its head, urged the suppression of internal differences in a common hostility to the foreign and Indian policy of Lord BEACONSFIELD'S Government. The Nonconformists ostentatiously postponed the disestablishment of the Church; proposals of Irish legislation were slurred over in indefinite phrases; and even Mr. GOSCHEN, who afterwards declined to join the new Ministry, took an active part in the agitation against a continuance of Conservative rule. It was easy to unite in

a denunciation of measures which, as Mr. GLADSTONE himself sometimes argued, involved no political theory or principle. The Treaty of Berlin and the Afghan war had no connexion with the maintenance of the Established Church, or with the rights of property. To engage in a conscientious effort for the overthrow of Lord BEACONSFIELD it was only necessary to be in some sense a Liberal partisan. Many of those who aided the movement have since doubted whether the late Ministry was the worst on record. Even if Lord BEACONSFIELD'S Cabinet was justly charged with a turbulent foreign policy, assaults on domestic institutions are more troublesome and more alarming. The PRIME MINISTER, with an irresistible majority at his back, will not be content, as in his last term of office, with harassing every separate interest. In a few weeks his legislative projects have alienated many of his most loyal supporters. The breach may perhaps be temporarily patched up, but the divergence of policy will be permanent. The measures affecting property in land which are announced for next Session will be more comprehensive than the Irish Disturbance Bill, though they can scarcely be more unjust in principle. The extension of household suffrage to counties will perhaps be more seriously considered when it is illustrated by the recent acts of its promoters.

Some of Mr. GLADSTONE'S most devoted supporters regard with apprehension and regret the impending breach between the Liberal aristocracy and the party of movement; but remonstrances and insinuated threats will alike fail to prevent a rupture. The malcontents are in vain reminded of the success of tenant-farmer candidates in some county constituencies, and it is useless to warn them that they may lose their seats and see a pure Liberal majority "pledged to land reforms of a decided character, which they themselves would have no opportunity of moderating or even discussing." They already perceive their inability to moderate or to discuss with effect one of the most iniquitous of so-called land reforms. If they had assisted Mr. GLADSTONE in passing the Irish Disturbance Bill, they would have been not unjustly taxed with selfish inconsistency if they hereafter resisted the application of similar doctrines to themselves. It is true that their opposition or abstention has betrayed their numerical weakness. After the loss of more than seventy adherents, Mr. GLADSTONE was still able to overwhelm argument and justice by a remaining majority of eighty. If every member of the Liberal party had voted according to his sincere convictions, it is doubtful whether the second reading of the Disturbance Bill would have been carried. The extreme Radicals are justly confident in their strength; but the best of them would wish to be kept in countenance, as in former times, by some of the representatives of rank and property. The apologies for spoliation which are founded on the acquiescence of Lord HARTINGTON in Mr. GLADSTONE'S measures stand on too narrow a basis; and there is reason to fear that the solitary Whig occupant of the Treasury Bench may soon begin to waver. While Mr. GLADSTONE and Mr. FORSTER talk of comprehensive dealing with Irish land, Lord HARTINGTON proposes to inquire whether the provisions of the Act of 1870 ought to be extended or restricted. In the meantime no blame attaches to a statesman who is reluctant to sever his connexion with the party to which he has uniformly belonged. The appeals of the more scrupulous Radicals to the reluctant Whigs who are dropping behind are sincere, and not discreditable. It would be pleasant to try experiments on property with the cheerful acquiescence of some of the greatest hereditary landowners. The rude suppression of plutocracy by the votes of mechanics and labourers is only desired by English Jacobins.

It will not be the smallest of the injuries which Mr. GLADSTONE will have inflicted on his country if he succeeds in dissolving the historical union of the Whigs with the Liberal party. As long as the struggle lasted between Parliament and the Crown, the families which had effected the Revolution of 1688 were the natural advocates of the claims of the House of Commons. Their representatives in later generations down to the present time have habitually maintained popular principles; and they have been rewarded for their services by undisputed pre-eminence in office and in the guidance of the party. Although they sometimes excited discontent by their oligarchical exclusiveness, their less privileged followers were ordinarily content with a modest

share of power and emolument. In one of Lord PALMERSTONE's Cabinets it was asserted that all his colleagues were descended from a common ancestress who had been alive within the present century. It would be a mistake to suppose that the aristocratic Whigs were not sincerely devoted to the principles which they professed. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who was for several years their leader, was a thoroughly zealous reformer; while Lord PALMERSTON, who was much less eager for change, was never accepted by the hereditary Whigs as one of themselves. The late Lord GREY proposed the reform of Parliament in his youth, and effected it in his later years. His successor, the present Earl, was in advance of his contemporaries in promoting negro emancipation and the abolition of the Corn Laws. It is to his class that the country has been indebted for the non-coincidence of political divisions with the lines of social stratification. A Whig Ministry or a Whig Opposition was only possible in a country where fundamental principles were undisputed. A partial and temporary suspension of the payment of rent by Act of Parliament is inconsistent with the convictions and instincts of the entire Whig party.

The catastrophe which approaches, if it has not already arrived, might have been long postponed but for the combination in Mr. GLADSTONE's person of the genius of a great orator and the position of a conspicuous statesman with the temper of a demagogue. His restless ambition has already disintegrated the great majority which his energy and eloquence had organized. The late Government, during six years of office, lost only two supporters, of whom one has since formally rejoined the party. It is true that Lord DERBY and Lord CARNAEVON were important political personages; but their position renders more remarkable the fact that they were not attended in their retirement by a single follower. It will be interesting to learn whether Lord DERBY's newly-formed alliance with the Liberal party will survive the discussion of the Irish Disturbance Bill. Lord LANSDOWNE has not yet attained the same official rank, but his resignation is understood to express the opinion of a large and powerful body; and his position as a great Irish landlord who is known to have done much to improve the condition of his tenantry entitles his judgment to considerable weight. Coalition with the Conservatives will probably be deferred for the present; and it is not desirable that it should be accelerated. The dissatisfied Liberals will, on the contrary, be anxious on all convenient occasions to exhibit and proclaim their fidelity to the party; but the conflict of principles will not fail to recur. Personal feeling will disincite them to follow Lord BEACONSFIELD; and Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, with all his ability and good qualities, is scarcely equal to the task of forming and consolidating a new political organization. If there were a PEELE in the House of Commons, a Liberal-Conservative party might gradually acquire the confidence of the country. A DISRAELI in his vigour would break up the majority, and perhaps the Government, within twelve months, though he might possibly not be able to take its place. Want of discipline and serious purpose in the Conservative ranks may tend to save Mr. GLADSTONE from the consequences of his mistakes. Nothing can be sillier than speeches made for the purpose of obstructing business, or impertinent criticisms on Mr. GLADSTONE's management of his private estate. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE undoubtedly disapproves of levity and impropriety, but he fails to enforce the moderation and prudence which can alone render a minority formidable. The party ought to be ready to profit by such opportunities as that which may perhaps be afforded if Mr. GLADSTONE makes war upon Turkey, or forms an offensive alliance with Russia.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AND THE LAW OF LIBEL.

THE Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of the law of libel seem to have prepared their Report on the principle which has lately been applied to legislation generally. They have not called any witnesses; but, as they are of opinion that sufficient information has been collected by a former Committee, this is a matter on which they may claim to use their own judgment. The Report founded on this information is not equally removed from criticism. One object of appointing a Select Committee is to get a body of

evidence digested for the benefit of the House of Commons. For this purpose such a Report as that which this particular Committee has thrown upon the table is utterly valueless. It states the conclusion at which the Committee have arrived, but it gives no reason why this conclusion should be better than any other. The Report seems to have been constructed with an eye merely to speed. The theory that it does not much matter what you say, provided that you say something, and say it quickly, is a very good one when applied to speeches at a wedding-breakfast; but it is less appropriate when it is applied to the Report of a Select Committee. In this instance the Committee began by unduly limiting the scope of their inquiry, and ended by making a most important and doubtful recommendation, without giving a single reason for the change they advise. The matter referred to them was the present state of the law of libel; but they have considered no part of this law, except that "affecting civil actions and criminal prosecutions for newspaper libel," while their Report deals with only a single point even of the part considered. As regards "the extension of privilege to newspaper reports of the proceedings of a public meeting," the Committee have formed an opinion. "After careful consideration," they "have come to the conclusion that the balance of convenience requires that further protection should be given to such reports." It is not stated why the balance of convenience requires this. It is enough for Parliament and the public that the Committee think so. This view of the function of a Select Committee has the fault of making it both judge and jury. It has hitherto been considered that the more nearly the report of a Committee resembles a charge to a jury the better its purpose is fulfilled. The House of Commons was supposed to want to have the evidence on both sides succinctly stated, and the considerations which ought to determine their verdict set out side by side. In the opinion of this Committee the House only wants to be told what to do, in the fewest possible words. Newspaper reports of the proceedings of public meetings require further protection. Do not waste time in asking questions, but give them the further protection they require. Never mind what the reasons for making the change are; we know them, and that should be enough for you. If you want something that at all events looks like a reason, take the balance of convenience. This is a nice elastic phrase, and suggests an argument which is not easily refuted. The balance of convenience may be simply the convenience of newspaper proprietors; we do not say whether it is anything more or not. It is sufficient that, in the opinion of the Committee, this mysterious balance inclines on the side of a change in the law.

When a Select Committee assumes this autocratic tone, and gives its conclusions without its reasons, the readers of its report are driven to be autocratic in their turn. The balance of convenience seems to us to incline in the opposite direction to that indicated by the Committee. Had the Committee condescended to bandy arguments we might very possibly have been convinced. But in the absence of anything of the kind our opinion remains what it was. It is right that the conductors of newspapers should receive reasonable protection; but the "balance of convenience requires" that the public should receive some protection as well. If the recommendation of the Committee be adopted, it is hard to see where this protection is to come from. The newspapers which would publish libels if they could do so without risk may not be numerous, but such journals exist; and if the law of libel is altered as the Committee suggest, they will be likely to increase and multiply. The proposed liberty of publishing reports of the proceedings of a public meeting will make their interesting task very much easier. Provided that a public meeting is "lawfully convened for a lawful purpose," and is open to the public, and the report is fair and accurate and published without malice, and the publication of the matter complained of is for the public benefit, these reports are to be privileged. There is not one of these conditions which a libellous report may not be expected to satisfy. What the Committee mean by the lawful convening of a public meeting it is impossible to say—unless they are under the impression that it must be done by the town bellman. They might at least have given some instances of what is an unlawful convening of a public meeting. Nor is it easy to understand what is not a lawful purpose for a public meeting. No matter

how private may be the grudge which the meeting is designed to gratify, the cases in which it cannot be colourably described as a matter of public interest will not be many. As to the meeting being open to the public, the more public the proceedings are the better it will be for the author of a slander. He will have more people to listen to him in the first instance, and presumably more people to read his speech afterwards. Supposing that the proceedings at the meeting are malicious, there will be no temptation to newspaper proprietors to make the reports of them anything but accurate. The speakers will have provided sufficiently libellous matter, and all that the newspaper will have to do is to take care that it is reproduced word for word. It will be hard to show that an accurate report of a public meeting can possibly be malicious. It will have been printed in the ordinary way of business, just as reports of half a hundred meetings which are not libellous are printed, and where can be the malice in this? As to the question of public benefit, the conductors of newspapers must be allowed to incline to the side of their own trade. It is for the public benefit that everything that goes on should be noted, and as soon as a public meeting is announced, a newspaper proprietor is justified in thinking that his readers will expect to see some account of it.

What is likely to happen, therefore, will be something of this kind. The conductors of a low newspaper wish to libel some particular person or body of persons, or to help some one else in libelling them. If these persons have no public position whatever, it will be difficult to turn the new law to much account. Even under the lax safeguards suggested by the Committee, the report of a public meeting convened to discuss the relations between a man and his wife would scarcely be held privileged. But there are many cases in which the very small publicity afforded by thinly-attended meetings might be most mischievously extended by the appearance of a report of the proceedings in a newspaper, without its being possible to prove that this report offended against any of the conditions laid down by the Committee. What would bring the conductors of a newspaper within the reach of the law if it appeared for the first time in their newspaper will have no such consequences if it appears there at second-hand. It will then cease to be a libel, and become merely a fair and accurate report of a slander. Unfortunately this fair and accurate report of a slander will be just as annoying and just as injurious as a libel, and we cannot conceive what the balance of convenience can be which requires that it shall be specially protected. A report of a speech at a public meeting is a very much more formidable thing than the original speech, and when it is in the power of the conductors of a newspaper to say whether this additional terror shall or shall not be given to it, we fail to see why they should not be held responsible for their act. The man who provides a bow for the shooting of an arrow has no right to plead that he did not make the arrow. It is through him that the arrow is enabled to hit its mark, and he should be held responsible for the injury which it inflicts.

THE COBDEN CLUB.

IT was natural enough that a genial atmosphere of hilarious triumph should reign at the dinner of the Cobden Club last Saturday. Although, strictly speaking, the principles of that Club in matters economic are not the exclusive property of either political party, the Cobden Club dinner has not usually been a purely neutral celebration. The joy of the members over the spread of their principles was not a little heightened by the consideration of the present constitution of Parliament and the Ministry. They had a prominent member of that Ministry to preside, and they could and did boast that almost the entire Cabinet are members of their Society. Moreover, the complexion of affairs at home, if not abroad, is this year more calculated to excite hilarity in the minds of the Cobden Club than has been the case for some time past. The extreme pressure of commercial ill-fortune which last year squeezed out cries in England for reciprocity has relaxed, and the vexed subject of the sugar bounties seems likely to be dealt with satisfactorily by an alteration of the French proceedings. Although no European nation except England has frankly adopted Free-trade as a general governing prin-

ciple of international economics, there are few nations of any prominence which have not made concessions more or less important to that principle. The wavering orthodoxy of France, the most important of all, was to a certain extent vouched for by the presence of M. CHALLEMEL-LACOUR; and a contingent of distinguished foreigners, ranging from "gentlemen of the United States" to "secretaries of the Armenian Patriarch," supported the French AMBASSADOR. M. DE LESSEPS represented the material forces which have aided the moral agencies of Free-trade in facilitating communication between different countries, so that, on the whole, the company might be said to be sufficiently and comfortably cosmopolitan.

Lord SPENCER's address must be allowed considerable credit as a display of the political tact and common sense which have at least once before distinguished his family in the history of England. The part he had to play was perhaps not quite so easy as it looked. He was expected not merely to deliver a panegyric upon Free-trade principles and to indulge in pleasant anticipations of the period of their general acceptance. His business was also to justify the ways of the Government to man, keeping as closely to the principles of the body he was addressing as possible. This he did in a manner sufficiently dexterous, though, of course, not such as will bear serious examination from the political point of view. But his speech was, on the whole, a very ingenious party speech, of the kind which can safely be delivered to a sympathizing audience. When Lord SPENCER expressed his inability to understand the causes of the Afghan war, when he asserted eloquently the determination of the Government to uphold civil and religious liberty, it is possible that some waiter, of unsound political principles and possessed of a knowledge of Latin, may have muttered to himself, *Quid hæc ad Iphicli boves?* SHERE ALI and Mr. BRADLAUGH can hardly be said to have had much to do with the question. But the guests are not likely to have been thus critical, and, like Mr. TENNYSON's Northern Farmer, no doubt thought that Lord SPENCER said what he ought to have said. Of the other speeches, that of M. CHALLEMEL-LACOUR was undoubtedly the most remarkable. The new French AMBASSADOR fully justified his reputation as a clever man and a practical politician. It must have given a thrill of satisfaction to those of his hearers who understood French to know that they had unconsciously won the prize traditionally promised to the inventor of a new pleasure. M. CHALLEMEL-LACOUR, it appears, has for ten years been solaced in his difficulties and disappointments by seeing his name printed in the "charming" publications of the Cobden Club. The French AMBASSADOR also complimented the whitebait, which some of his countrymen have profanely compared to gudgeon. But when M. CHALLEMEL-LACOUR came to speak of "the violent opposition of clever men who, with infinite art, make use of real suffering to foment agitations by which they expect to profit," he became still more practical and interesting. The impossibility, as a matter of fact, of a return to Protection on the part of any country which has once taken to Free-trade, is a point too much neglected by ardent free-traders, who, as a rule, prefer to denounce their antagonists for lack of intelligence, or to use the old arguments for the establishment, rather than the retention, of Free-trade. The French AMBASSADOR may also be said to have done good service by emphatically declaring his resolution "not to forget or neglect the least legitimate interest of his own country." There is a form of cosmopolitanism to which some of the most active members of the Cobden Club are very much inclined, and which consists in pooh-poohing and denouncing attention to the interests of their own country. To these persons, who are politicians rather than economists, the very word "interest" is something of a red rag. It may have been instructive, and should certainly have been notable, to them that a speaker who had just professed the fullest orthodoxy in the Free-trade sense, and whose political opinions they certainly cannot call narrow or backward, should make this reservation. Of the remaining speeches there were some which were curious, but none that were important. M. DE LESSEPS, as was inevitable, talked a good deal of the Suez Canal in the past, and a good deal of the Panama Canal in the future—a future which, as a man who is nothing if not sanguine, he spoke of as assured. M. TCHERAZ, the Secretary of the Armenian Patriarch, must have afforded

the audience as much edification as any speaker. M. TCHERAZ, like a good many Continental orators, appears to have modelled his eloquence on that of M. VICTOR HUGO; and he enunciated vigorous propositions about war and peace, and such like things, quite in the style of the staccato sentences of the great Frenchman. English after-dinner oratory is not often diversified by these fireworks, so that those of M. TCHERAZ must have had the merit, rare on such occasions, of novelty.

There was only one address which was of a bellicose character, and that one perhaps demands some slight notice. Lord SPENCER had dealt in his speech with what is called the land question in a manner intended to express the sentiments of a Liberal and a landlord rolled into one, but this reference did not satisfy Mr. BAXTER. Mr. BAXTER wants a radical reform in the Land-laws. No pottering, tinkering, half-hearted compromise will satisfy this thoroughgoing politician, and he is reported to have risen to the level of after-dinner jocularly by declaring that, if the Government fail in their duty, they shall not be the guests of the Cobden Club next year. Now it is perhaps not superfluous to point out that the Cobden Club has, as a matter of fact, no business with the Land-laws whatever. The phrase "Free-trade in land" is perhaps one of the most question-begging of the many question-begging phrases which wander about the political field. In no legitimate sense is free-trade in land an analogous demand to the demand for free-trade in corn and sugar. The system of "simple and ready transfer of land," at which Lord SPENCER modestly aims, might possibly be said to possess some faint flavour of this analogy. But, as a matter of fact, it cannot be said that the simple and ready transfer of land itself is at present prevented by any positive legal restrictions, still less by positive legal restrictions which bear any relation to protective duties. Nor is the simple and ready transfer of land by any means the radical reform in the Land-laws which Mr. BAXTER wants. It already exists in practice in some parts of England, notably in Lincolnshire; it has been taken in hand by Lord CAIRNS, who certainly is not Mr. BAXTER's ideal of a radical reformer, and the obstacles in the way of it are rather obstacles of custom and of individual interest than of anything else. The essence of Free-trade is that a man shall be able to do what he likes with his own, free from legal restrictions, to take his property to the best market, or to keep it back from that market if he pleases. The essence of all proposals of radical reforms of the Land-laws with which we have the advantage of being acquainted is that a man shall not be allowed to do what he likes with his own. It is impossible, of course, to say what import Mr. BAXTER may attach to the phrase he uses; and that phrase must be taken in its usual sense, in default of any special explanation. But it is certainly necessary to draw the distinction we have drawn, especially in a country where perpetual assertion is so likely to produce general assent as it is nowadays in England. We cannot undertake to say how far the wrath of Mr. BAXTER, and the prospect of being excluded from the next Cobden Club dinner, may affect the Government. Lord SPENCER, at any rate, does not seem very evidently inclined to cut down the tree upon which he himself sits. There must also, we should think, have been not a few members even of the Cobden Club who perceived the fallacy which underlay Mr. BAXTER's speech. A man is certainly not a Protectionist because he wishes for the maintenance of large estates, because he disbelieves in peasant proprietorship as a panacea for social woes, because he believes in freedom of bequest and freedom of contract, or even (though Mr. BAXTER's hair will probably stand on end at this) because he believes in entail. However, there is no need to argue out this point, which is self-evident as soon as any one gives himself the trouble to consider it. The Cobden Club has had its dinner, and has, let us hope, arisen refreshed to grapple once more with the task of converting the nations of the earth to the principles of Free-trade proper. It must be admitted that the nations of the earth still require a good deal of converting. Mr. BAXTER is convinced that a new and very interesting pamphlet—the newest of M. CHALEMEL-LECOURE's charming books—will open the eyes of the Americans to the injurious effects of their protective system. It may be so, but we should like to be sure that we shall live to see it. Then there is Australia, a perfect "mother of heresies," as far as Free-

trade is concerned. The Cobden Club has its work cut out for it, work of a perfectly legitimate and highly beneficial character, without going out of its way to call by the name of Free-trade things which have not the slightest logical connexion with that economic principle.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

THE General Order in which the Duke of CAMBRIDGE conveys to the Volunteers the QUEEN's congratulations on the completion of the twenty-first year of the existence of the force is a well-deserved tribute to a movement which has from the first been distinguished by its straightforward good sense. With rare exceptions the Volunteers have appreciated their own powers with remarkable accuracy. They believed at starting that they were worth more than the War Office thought, and they have not allowed their heads to be turned by the foolish praise of which they have sometimes been the object since. If they had listened to professional advice in the first instance, they would have pitched their ambition at a very modest level indeed. Soldiers allowed that Volunteers might be useful in garrison; but, except behind fortifications, they evidently regarded them as only a more ambitious kind of camp-followers. The Volunteers formed a higher opinion of their own capacity. They argued that what a recruit who had no enthusiasm for the service as distinct from the pay could learn by constant drill, a recruit who enlisted entirely for the sake of the service might learn by intermittent drill. They admitted that constant drill might make soldiering a matter of habit; but they looked to intelligence and zeal to give a kind of proficiency which should take the place of habit. So far as it is safe to speak positively of a force which has never yet been tested in actual warfare, their estimate of themselves has turned out correct. Not a Volunteer review is now held at which the Volunteers do not go through movements which a few years ago it would have been thought useless to ask from any but regular troops. Their improvement in marksmanship has kept pace with their improvement in drill, and at the meeting which is now in progress at Wimbledon shooting which would once have been thought almost marvellous will be taken as a matter of course. A force of which this can be said has some title to be congratulated by its Sovereign. The QUEEN would be hard to please if she did not find ground for satisfaction in the "numerical strength, high training, and discipline" of the Volunteers.

When it became evident that the movement was popular and successful, the Volunteers were occasionally spoken of as though they needed neither pains nor practice to be at once the equal of any troops in the world. It is much to their credit that they were not in the least deceived by this language. Had they been so, they might have been unintentionally encouraged in their error by the military authorities. Partly from a disbelief in the possibility of making the force a serious element in the defence of the country, and partly from the natural indisposition of men accustomed to entire obedience to have recourse to argument or persuasion, the War Office would have been quite ready to make the work of the Volunteers easy. It was usually as a concession to their own wishes that any fresh duties were exacted from them. If they had done nothing more than was commanded them, they would have been but unprofitable servants. Happily a service which is taken up from choice becomes interesting in strict proportion to the demands which it makes. The Volunteers found that the harder their work became the better they liked it. They did not ask to be called good soldiers, but to be made good soldiers; and with this view they welcomed every opportunity of doing voluntarily what the regular soldier does because he is obliged to do it. The reviews which at the beginning were valued chiefly as holidays have by degrees taken a more military shape. The men engaged in them have of their own free choice foregone much that would have made them more enjoyable in the former character, and have aimed above all things at making them useful as occasions of military practice. Of course there is necessarily much room for criticism when so motley a force is brought together at long intervals and for very short periods. But criticism finds less to do every year. Now and again some outburst of irritation—as at Hull a

short time back—shows that a particular corps has forgotten its military obligations; but the return to discipline and good sense is rarely long delayed.

Lord DERBY remarked the other day that the success of the Volunteer movement was a striking tribute to the old-fashioned view of the superiority of private over State action. It used to be thought that the State spoiled everything it touched, and that the main secret of useful reform was to keep Government aid at a distance. This notion is now pretty well set aside as a *doctrinaire* superstition. The first condition of useful change is supposed to be to get the Government committed to the necessity of it. Otherwise there is very little chance of carrying it out by Act of Parliament; and without an Act of Parliament the modern reformer can do nothing. If the Volunteer movement had begun in 1880, instead of in 1859, nothing would have been talked about except deputations and memorials, the indolence of the War Office, and the certainty that it would in the end have to be stimulated by a liberal application of the popular spur. In 1880 the Volunteers would have taken to agitation; in 1859 they took to drilling. The result has shown how much can be done by private effort, even in the department of the public service in which private effort usually counts for least. It is difficult to realize the condition of England as regards defence before the Volunteer movement began. If an invading army had once effected a landing, it would have had the ground almost to itself. There would have been next to no soldiers at the disposal of the Government, and the material out of which soldiers might be made would have been utterly untrained. To-day the Volunteers constitute a powerful defensive army, while the number of men who have passed through the force and could regain their old efficiency in a very short time must be considerable. The sense of security which this fact gives has been very evident during the last few years. There have been materials enough for alarm in the foreign relations of Great Britain, but there has been no revival of the old invasion panic. If a war now broke out, Englishmen might be uneasy about their food supplies, or about the supply of recruits to the regular army, but they would not be much disturbed by the prospect of seeing a foreign army in possession of London. It is possible of course that their present security is exaggerated, as their former alarm may have been; but it is certain that in a conflict with any force which an enemy would be able to land suddenly on our shores, the Volunteers would at all events have the advantage of numbers. It is to the French and German war perhaps that the Volunteers owe the largest part of their efficiency. The old idea of the force, as a mere body of sharpshooters who might pick off an enemy from behind walls and hedges while the regular army opposed him in front, did not quite die out till it was disposed of by the German treatment of the *frances-tireurs*. From that time it was understood that, if the Volunteers were to be useful, it must be as soldiers, not as civilians with a knack of bringing down an enemy at long distances.

The General Order holds out a prospect of a large Volunteer Review in Windsor Great Park. Whether one ought to have been held in Hyde Park during the present summer is a point on which opinions will differ. The growth of London, and the increasing disposition of Londoners to see whatever is to be seen, do undoubtedly make the collection of very large crowds in the Park extremely inconvenient. The day on which the Volunteer review was to be held would have been a holiday, not only for those who wished to keep it as such, but for many who had no wish of the kind. The streets would have been given up to Volunteer regiments with their attendant crowds, and the traffic of London would to a great extent have been subordinated to the necessities of soldiers and pleasure-seekers. Still, what would be intolerable if it happened often may be quite endurable when it happens only once in a way. The Volunteer force does not come of age every day, and a similar occasion for holding a review in Hyde Park could scarcely have again presented itself till the movement is half a century old. Taking the very exceptional nature of the case into account, the authorities might, we think, with advantage have erred on the side of liberality, and have allowed the review to take place.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND ITS POOR.

THE reader who knows the social life of England in the last century chiefly through its classics very naturally takes a more cheerful view of the state of society then than he would form from a study of its literature of special subjects, political or religious. Perhaps one of the characteristics of the age was a tendency to take things easily, to see everything at its brightest. There will always be people who, either from principle or temperament, scrutinize awkward facts, and show them up; but the pictures of society that live are not from their hands. In the life shown us, whether in letters or by the essayists, people in the last century did not trouble themselves with great schemes, whether useful or benevolent; they accepted things as they were. They were social, friendly, easy, living and letting live. It reads like a very comfortable world. People of this turn see what they want to see, and the poet and the essayist saw things for them in the same spirit. If the country had to be described, they saw it in its summer aspect, and its rural population in holiday trim and Arcadian surroundings; while in town—which was their world—and writing for the town, there was always something more in their line of observation, as well as more certain to interest their readers, than the pictures of poverty and distress which habit had made familiar, and which had come to be taken as part of the inevitable state of things. The beggars, though they did “swarm,” were something too distinct from the humanity which these writers cared for to excite sympathy in any other form than an occasional alms, or as adding a picturesque point to a situation. It is in works of a different class that we read what was the true condition of the poor generally, in many distinct periods of the century; works in which such themes as the alarming increase of poor, the decay of population, the want of work, the scarcity of provisions, the pressure of poor-rates, bread riots, the horrors of workhouses, the swarms of vagrants, are dwelt upon from different points of view, sometimes with pity, more often with the alarm, indignation, and cruelty of fear; but always with an assumption that the facts were notorious and undeniable. It was through pamphlets and critical notices of them—a class of reading that would not reach the general eye or excite the attention of the ordinary reader—that the world was informed of the growing mischief and of the remedies suggested. Anonymous gentlemen address members of Parliament, proposing some employment for useless hands in England and Wales; some protest against the engrossing of farms, or call for a change in the Poor-laws “that shall restrict relief to the deserving poor,” or for severer laws against vagrants, &c. This lowest class is treated in a tone of loathing that renders more natural than we had been accustomed to think it that well-known letter of the Duchess of Buckingham to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, on the impertinence of Methodism and its outrage on good breeding in reducing all ranks to the common level of sinners. “It is monstrous to be told,” says her Grace, “that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl the earth.” The vagrant classes were really regarded as vermin to be hunted down; creatures that crawled on the earth, and must be got rid of. Thomas Alcock, writing on the Poor-laws in the very middle of the century, opens with the statement that, while England was the only country in Europe where the poor are provided for by law, yet the number of street beggars was greater with us than abroad. This he proposes to remedy by restricting the poor to indoor relief, tempering the scheme by many humane suggestions for their good. It is when he comes to those “indigent persons” who should object to the new system that the prevailing view declares itself. He lays down three degrees of punishment for contumacy. First, if any idle person shall be found begging twelve hours after notice to depart, he shall be sent to the House of Correction and hard labour for a week, and then dismissed to his place of settlement; on a second offence he shall be taken up, whipped, and confined to hard labour for a month:—

And upon a third offence to be confined as above till the quarter sessions of the peace, and on proof of such a person being an incorrigible rogue, &c., to be transported, made a slave of, or whatsoever the quarter sessions shall think proper.

In a sermon on the text “Be ye therefore merciful,” published about the same date, we find a passage quoted with approval “as a specimen of the forcible manner in which our author frequently expresses himself,” which begins with these words:—“Here there is one caution to be laid down, which is of the last consequence to be carefully attended to; and that is that the vagrant beggar is an eternal exception to all the precepts and dictates of Christian charity. The race of vagrant beggars are the vilest race that ever cursed the earth.” Of course the parish officers were ready enough to profit by this wide exemption from an embarrassing precept, and to get rid of their more troublesome dependents by the shortest and handiest methods. A voice was now and then raised against these proceedings. “The miserable condition of the poor,” we read (1759), “in this free and opulent kingdom has long been a disgrace to our police. While some vile impostors have abused charity, other wretched objects of less invention or more honesty have suffered all the extremities of indigence and distress, often aggravated by the inhumanity of parish officers. To see our fellow-creatures hunted from parish to parish like noxious animals for no other crime than beggary must fill every compassionate breast with the deepest concern.” A writer in 1765, enlarging on the “excessive and amazing number of the poor,” with suggestions

for the radical cure of these evils, sums them up in an opening inquiry:—

What would a stranger say to find a people exhibiting such a distinguished external appearance of prosperity, yet at the very same time their streets swarming with wretched objects exposed to all the horrors of want and misery; their roads infested with lawless miscreants, to the terror of innocent travellers; their parishes groaning under a burden of poor creatures crammed together in places misnamed workhouses, where they linger on an indolent, nasty existence, their numbers increasing yearly to such a degree that it has long engaged the attention of the legislature, and exercised the ingenuity of individuals, hitherto in vain.

His radical cure is the abolition of entail and primogeniture. Other writers, quite as eloquent on the evils existing, are more various in their views as to the causes of the mischief, ranging from alehouses, mountebanks, and the licentiousness of Parliamentary elections, to foreign *tens*. "The Poor-laws of England are the universal encouragers of idleness, drunkenness, and tea-drinkings;" therefore, argues one, restrict their aid only to those who deserve it; on which a reviewer naturally observes that if the proposal that only those who should appear on certificate to deserve relief were adopted, many a poor wretch might be left to starve in the streets, for if the horrors of the parish workhouse will not deter them from idleness and dissipation, nothing else probably will ever be able to do it. He adds that few parishes were disinterested enough to put their workhouses under better regulation, lest it should increase the number seeking admission. A recognition of this temper in the guardians of the poor ought, we think, to have made the reviewer more indulgent in his tone towards Religious Houses than appears in his grudging statement "that these houses harboured incredible numbers of poor persons in England," and "that we need only consult our statutes to see what severe laws the legislature thought it needful to enact against vagrants upon the dissolution of those burdensome receptacles of ignorance and idleness." Perhaps it was this association of religion with the abject forms of poverty which made the early Methodist sympathy with the poorest classes so unpopular, and indeed offensive. When the Prince of Wales some years before this had inquired why he had not seen Lady Huntingdon lately at his Court, and was answered, "She is praying with the beggars," the reply expressed the general view that here was the *ne plus ultra* of mischievous fanaticism.

Not that there were wanting those who pleaded for this miserable class, who hazarded an apology even for beggars in real distress, and protested against the tyranny exercised over the helpless aged. One writer (1775) explains that this tyranny was carried to the greatest pitch in large cities and in small solitary villages, and ventures to point out that the obstinacy and profligacy of the poor, which is the excuse for everything, found its parallel among their betters, observing that "many of the maintainers of the poor will swear profanely and drink to excess as well as the poor themselves, but would think it hard to be starved and whipped and poisoned as a punishment for their swearing and drunkenness." He quotes "a very just remark of the late Mr. Fielding, whose opportunities of knowledge of this kind were as little circumscribed as most men's," that "the vices of the poor are better known than their miseries; they starve, they freeze, and rot among themselves; they beg and steal and rob among their betters."

The food of the labouring poor is a frequent topic with writers in this line of subject. Fresh meat, as most people know, was not then as constant an article even on the table of the farmer as it is now, while of the labourers it is said that multitudes of families hardly ever taste fresh "flesh meat," or, indeed, any sort of butchers' meat (this excludes bacon), from the beginning of the year to the end. An ugly word *morts* expressively indicates one description of animal food that found consumers. One writer could specify counties within a day's ride of the capital where the day labourer has scarce a morsel of any kind of flesh for his family except at mowing time, "unless the master farmer who employs the labourer gratifies him with part of a sheep which when dying had been butchered." The difficulty about milk existed then as now. Milk, even skimmed milk, was consumed by the pigs, and was not to be bought by the labourer. And bread, as a rule, was dearer than with us, and frequently at an almost famine price. Yet there seems to have been a steady advance, most jealously watched, in the requirements of the labourer through all this period. It is probably according to good or bad seasons that this shows itself; but all through it was making some way. Thus one writer (1767) finds a grievance in the fact of the poor eating more and better wheat bread, and "living in a quite different way than heretofore." His reviewer laments that the common people, who are the strength of the nation, are decreasing very fast in Britain, some rising above the class, but a much greater proportion sinking below it, owing to the general taste for ostentation and luxury, a contagion which has extended to the very dregs of the people. An inquirer of the same date is suspicious of the advance of education among the poor. He has heard that in "the metropolis of this kingdom there are five or six thousand children of the very lowest of the people clothed and educated at the expense of private persons, the males instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, the females in reading, knitting, and needlework." The want in this scheme of hours of labour for the boys distresses him. The girls have their needlework, but he adds that "if some meaner and more laborious employment could be found for them and take place of, or at least be joined along with the other, it would undoubtedly be much more suitable to the lowliness of their birth and station, and have a natural tendency to fit them for those servile

occupations which in the ordinary course of Providence are most likely to fall to their share."

Riots on account of the dearth of provisions are of frequent occurrence in these records, instigated, as some said, by the "manufacturers" (now called "hands") as opposed to labourers; and here it is those whose wages are highest who set the example. The "manufacturer" is regarded with jealousy by most of these writers, who saw but a very little way into the great future of England, though what they wrote sounded very good sense to their readers and reviewers.

Amongst other topics dwelt upon, we find the decay of population, supported by statistics which sound strange to modern ears. Dr. Richard Price, who, in his critic's estimate, stands at the head of his department, shows that while "Dr. Davenant ('the best of all political writers') tells us that at Michaelmas 1685 the number of houses in all England and Wales was 1,300,000, of which 554,631 were houses of only one chimney," whereas "previously, at the Restoration, the number had been 1,230,000, showing an increase of 300,000":—

But what a melancholy reverse has taken place since! In 1759 the number of houses in England and Wales was 986,482, of which not more than 330,000 were cottages, having less than seven windows. In 1766, notwithstanding the increase of buildings in London, the number of houses was reduced to 980,690. According to these accounts, then, our people have, since the year 1690, decreased near a million and a half. And the waste has fallen principally on the inhabitants of cottages.

Dr. Price's object is to show the cause of this decay to be the "engrossing of farms" and consequent diminution of labour in the country, multitudes of cottages being pulled down; and the flocking of the people to towns, of which he proves the unhealthiness by tables of statistics, showing the proportion of deaths annually in country and town, in London and foreign cities, immensely to the disadvantage of the cities. His conclusion is that the number of people in England and Wales at the time of his writing, 1771, may be stated as *probably* not more than four millions and a half, but *certainly* not five millions. The Census (1871), taken exactly a hundred years later, gives the numbers for England and Wales as 22,791,578. This same writer, "the celebrated author of the *Observations on Reversionary Payments*," had a scheme bearing some analogy to Lord Carnarvon's recent project, though less ambitious in its design, as being voluntary and proposing a substitute for Friendly Societies, and only indirectly affecting the Poor-laws. According to this scheme the churchwardens and overseers of every parish were to be legally empowered to grant life annuities to those who may be inclined to purchase them, "to be paid out of the Poor-rates of the parish; the land and other property of the parish to be chargeable." It is proposed that no annuity depending upon one life should exceed 20*l.* per annum, and that no less sum than 5*l.* be allowed to be employed in the purchase of an annuity. To the disgust of the promoters of the Bill, it was "abruptly" rejected by the Lords by a majority of 55 to 6.

Of course there was another side to this depressing picture, and ideal examples were to be found of a happy, prosperous, and contented peasantry. But these are telling and startling facts all the same. The elegant literature of the period, which we have contrasted in tone with the sources from which these facts are derived, has, however, something to say about the beggars. Goldsmith was not a man either to ignore their existence or to be hard upon them—he had a fellow-feeling for the vagrants. Our readers will remember that excursion into the country which the Citizen of the World takes with the Man in Black, in which they met so many suppliants for their charity. The language of this gentleman is evidently derived from the sort of reading on which we have been commenting. He is familiar with all the arguments, and as stern in tone as the most inexorable utilitarian; but he cannot resist the spoken tale of distress, and surreptitiously empties his pockets while he rails against the beggars with an increasing fury.

Self-gratulation is never a safe state of mind; but the nineteenth century has perhaps a right to claim some advance over its predecessor in its tone towards the poor and its efforts for their good.

THE GLADSTONIAN GERM THEORY.

WHATEVER may be said against the Compensation for Disturbance Bill (and we fear a good deal may be said against it), it cannot be denied that its eccentricities have afforded political practice and exercise of the most valuable kind to the youthful Parliament of 1880. It is often recommended that young sportsmen should be entered as soon as possible at snipe, because the vagaries of that remarkable fowl, though they may sorely trouble the novice at first, afford him better, because more difficult, practice than anything else. The Compensation for Disturbance Bill is surely the snipe of the political fauna. No mortal save the shrewdest and most practised politician knows what it is going to be at, and the zig-zags of its progress (if it is to be called progress) would defy the powers of a senior wrangler to reduce them to a comfortable formula. It is barely three weeks old, and during that time it has gone through metamorphoses enough for a Proteus. To-day it is one thing, to-morrow it is something not merely different, but irreconcilable. If Addison were alive, and were not restrained by political considerations, we might have a most delightful "vision" of this singular

piece of legislation. The bewildering way in which its clauses advance, retreat, and rally at the bidding of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster; the easy grace with which the Government declare a point to be vital, to be indispensable, to be the necessary preventive of civil war, this minute, and withdraw it the next; the original theory of play on which they post their stakes and then draw them when they see the cards are bad—all deserve a more lasting monument than is likely to be accorded them. Since that remarkable passage in *Henry VI.* where about fourteen distinct armies solemnly enter the stage at one side, march across, disappear on the other, and then repeat the proceeding, all in the space of twice as many decasyllables, nothing has equalled Mr. Forster's army of constabulary, which, appearing at fifty different services of fifty different processes, is held up to the horrified House as a force big enough to fight a respectable battle by the simple process of multiplying men by times of service. It is really terrible to think of what might be made of the statistics of the London police on this principle. Sir Edmund Henderson could, we should say, be represented as commanding a body of men about as large as that which Xerxes presided over at his famous review. Nor are those wonderful evictions which on investigation usually dwindle from a hundred and fifty to fifteen, and from fifty to five, to be denied their due meed of attention. Indeed a captious critic might draw an interesting parallel between the way in which ingenious directors occasionally draw up balance-sheets to delude prying eyes, and the way in which the statistics for justifying the urgency of this measure seem to have been prepared. If the chiefs of the constabulary in Mayo will only counter-march their men quick enough, it will soon be in Mr. Forster's power to point out that a force larger than the whole Irish contingent is employed there; and if the evictions are reckoned on the same plan, why not count each member of the family and each one of the sympathizing friends who come to stone the constabulary as a victim? It can soon be shown that in some districts no one Irishman of fiction has a home. All these things are, we repeat, simply invaluable as exercises and models to the youthful politician. But there is one result of the debates which overtops them all. This is the new theory of germs which Mr. Gladstone has introduced and expounded. The Prime Minister is, and always has been, very fertile in contributions to politics of the higher kind. But the Theory of Centrifugal Representation itself, great as were its merits, could be fairly held to rank with this new germ-theory. For the one is limited, casual, and might even in altered circumstances be inconvenient to the propounder. The other is unlimited in its scope, gives promise of immense "fruit" in the Baconian sense, and is of that happy conception that it can never be otherwise than profitable to the adroit user.

It is not necessary to indicate at any great length the circumstances under which this great discovery was first promulgated. Like all Mr. Gladstone's contributions to political science, it was in all probability a happy thought. But it is well known that, while most other politicians of eminence who are addicted to happy thoughts—Lord Beaconsfield is a conspicuous instance—throw away the case after the firework has duly coruscated and crackled, Mr. Gladstone has a remarkable habit of keeping his for future use, and of asserting them to be the deliberate product of his careful days and laborious nights of meditation and experience. When he first maintained that the germ of Mr. Forster's Bill was to be found in the Act of 1870, it naturally seemed only a pleasing utterance of a polemical character. To say that a proposition which the Bill of 1870 directly negatives and bars has its germ contained in that Bill is perhaps what some one has called "a really luminous paradox"—that is to say, one of those dazzling intellectual efforts which make it perfectly impossible for the humble eye of the on-looker to see anything at all. But the argument apparently seemed to Mr. Gladstone and his friends too good to be lost. They first maintained that the germ of the Bill of 1880 (which says that compensation for eviction for non-payment of rent shall be allowed) was in the Act of 1870 (which says that compensation for eviction for non-payment of rent shall not be allowed). Then they maintained that the now defunct amendment, or clause, or whatever it is to be called, of Mr. Law was equally a germ in the original Bill or clause, or whatever it is to be called—for the eccentricities of this measure have upset all Parliamentary nomenclature—of Mr. Forster. Nobody indeed could see it there; but then, as it might have been argued, it is rarely possible to see germs except with a microscope. The worst of the germ-theory in this instance is that it leads to awkward inferences. For, if the germ was there before Mr. Law's amendment, it is there still, and may be evolved any day, to the great discontent of Mr. Parnell and his friends. On the other hand, there is some comfort to be found by the enemies of the Bill as a whole in the proceeding. For if one germ can be stifled, why not another? If Mr. Law's amendment can be left in the loins of its father Mr. Forster's Bill, why should not Mr. Forster's Bill be left in the loins of its father the Act of 1870? The assertion of paternity rests on the same authority in both cases, and what is sauce for the grandson is sauce for the son. Unluckily this extremely logical solution of the difficulty is, for good reasons, not likely to recommend itself to Mr. Gladstone. We have a dim remembrance of once reading a fearful and wonderful Irish poem which related the history of a duel between two chieftains, and in which the exploits of each were introduced by these words, truly epic in character:—

Then many skilful, daring, wondrous feats
The hero showed.

The upshot of these feats was (unless we mistake) that the more famous champion fitted something like an expanding harpoon between his toes, and kicked it up into his enemy's stomach. Mr. Gladstone, like Cuchullin or Fingal, or whoever it was, has been showing many skilful, daring, wondrous feats, and his object is apparently not dissimilar to that of the hero—to kick some kind of disreputable weapon into the stomach of the Irish landlords. Hitherto he has not succeeded in getting the harpoon nicely fixed, but that is doubtless his misfortune.

It is pleasant, and may be commended to the study of Englishmen and Scotchmen, to contemplate a few of the more probable and immediate results of the germ-theory. Let us take only the principal of those measures upon which Mr. Gladstone has just informed us that the heart of the Government is particularly set—the Employers' Bill, the Hares and Rabbits Bill, the Burials Bill. All these three admit of the most admirable applications of the new discovery. When, for instance, the aspirations of one of our contemporaries are realized; when Mr. Gladstone has, let us say, disfranchised all who pay more than a certain assessment of rates—this, by the way, could be got out of Reform Bill precedents by the germ-theory with the greatest ease—and has, as a means of bringing Parliament into "harmony," given all the Middlesex and Surrey seats to Northampton and Birmingham—it is quite clear that peddling measures like those just quoted will never do. The constituencies will arise in their might and demand the application of the germ-theory at once. If occupier and tenant are to have equal and, on the tenant's side, inalienable rights to the game which runs about the land, why not to the land itself? The germ of the latter proposal lies in the former much more clearly than the germ of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill lies in the Act of 1870. If, again, the Burials Bill is accepted the case is still clearer. The most bigoted and prejudiced Tory must admit that the germ of the word "church" lies in the word "churchyard." As to the Employers' Liability Bill, that, whatever may be thought of the measure itself, might germinate into anything—indeed it is, as already hinted, the essence of the theory that anything may germinate into anything. A vision of political pangeneisis seems to have possessed Mr. Gladstone's lofty and penetrating mind. The germ of the contradictory lies in its opposite, as the greatest philosophers have taught; and this, after all, is exactly what Mr. Gladstone affirms of the Bills of 1870 and 1880. The former says "Thou shalt not," and Mr. Gladstone tells us that this contains the germ of "Thou shalt." The latest thing in this line—or at least one of the latest, for it is always rash to speak of such a "Cynthia of the minute" as the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in the present tense—is a phrase about the landlord allowing a reasonable alternative. Who is so dull as not to see in this the germ of the tenant's refusing that alternative as unreasonable? Indeed the possibilities of the subject are altogether too much for us, and we can only repeat, for a different reason, our formerly expressed pity for the unfortunate County Court Judge. For it appears from Mr. Gladstone's speeches that this unhappy man is supposed to know all about the germ-theory and the development it requires. In fact, he knew all about it before, and the defunct amendment, for instance, was introduced not to lay down any new principle, but to expound and define to stupid Tory members and backsliding Whigs what Mr. Gladstone and the County Court Judge knew perfectly well and saw quite clearly. Now Irishmen are not usually deficient in acuteness, and County Court Judges are, as a rule, tolerably shrewd specimens of the human race; but the germs latent in this remarkable Bill will, we suspect, puzzle even an Irish County Court Judge. Indeed there may be, and probably are, as many germs in it as in a gallon of London Particular water. All these the Judge must be well up to, and if the tenant catches him ignoring the particular bacterium which makes for his own interest, why that County Court Judge had better look out.

These are but a few remarks on the wide subject which Mr. Gladstone's words have opened to the mental gaze. The application of the germ-theory to Mr. Biggar's doctrine of a reasonable amount of physical force applicable to bad landlords is a tempting field, and it may perhaps be pointed out that Mr. Biggar is a merciful man in his way; for when the landlord has been ruined, the physical force argument will perhaps on the whole be the kindest. The germs of Mr. Forster's system of arithmetic as applied to constables also deserve the most careful study, which cannot fail, as we have already hinted, to reward the practical politician. But here, as has so often happened with the subjects provided for handling by the present Government, the very exuberance and extent of them makes those subjects difficult to treat. To sweep up the meases Her Majesty's Ministers have made in their brief period of office would take more than the famous "seven maids with seven mops." To calculate the applications of the germ theory would take more than the late Mr. Babbage and all his machines.

CLERICAL FELLOWSHIPS.

THE question raised the other day in the House of Commons by Mr. Roundell is not quite so simple a one as he and his friends seemed to imagine. The reproach of having "fallen among Liberationists" may perhaps not apply to them—indeed Mr. Beresford Hope was careful to explain that it did not apply to the mover himself—in the sense of having made themselves

the conscious tools and agents of the Liberation Society, but it is not the less true that their line of argument, in its one-sided and narrow concentration on certain aspects only of what is really a matter of wider and more practical import, recalls the familiar logic of the Liberationist platform. Mr. Richard indeed frankly acknowledged that to him the question was interesting only as a step towards bringing about the separation of Church and State. To Mr. Roundell and his supporters the election to college fellowships appeared to present itself in two points of view exclusively, or rather under two aspects of one point of view, in its bearing on the emoluments. In the first place, it is "a principle dear to the Liberal party" that these endowments should not be "the property of any particular Church or sect, but of the nation;" in other words, the appeal is to the principle of absolute religious equality. And in the next place, they ought to be awarded strictly on the principle of *palmam qui meruit ferat*, by the test of competitive examination: "colleges should be in a position to elect the best men." Yet it is surely, to say the least, far from being obvious at the first blush that either of these principles can at once be accepted without qualification or reserve, while it is on the other hand clear that they are not the only points to be considered. College fellowships in many cases have, and were intended to have, duties attached to them, and cannot therefore be regarded merely as prizes of intellectual proficiency; and this—apart from any question of the real or supposed rights of the Church of England in the property—may seriously affect the expediency of abolishing all religious guarantees. It has always hitherto been held on similar grounds that the purely competitive test must be to a certain extent limited by moral considerations. If "the best man" in the examination was of notoriously questionable character, no college would have felt bound to elect him. Nor is it superfluous under the circumstances to remind those concerned of what is in itself a truism, that, whether or not it may be applicable to this particular case (which is matter for argument), to accept the principle of religious equality pure and simple is incompatible with the maintenance of an Established Church. We may add, though it is not a point we intend to dwell upon, that Mr. Gladstone was manifestly right in cautioning the House against the impropriety of passing a resolution which could not have been regarded as less than a vote of want of confidence in the University Commissioners who are at present engaged in their delicate and not very easy task. It is in fact an open secret that the procedure was partly prompted by a suspicion of clerical tendencies in the Chairman of the Oxford Commission.

On the collateral question raised in Mr. Bryce's rider, with the full approval of Mr. Roundell, of throwing open the chairs of Hebrew and Ecclesiastical History, we do not propose to enter here at any length, as it stands on somewhat different grounds; but one or two observations may be made in passing on their method of treating it. These professorships are endowed with Christ Church canopies, from which they must of course be dissociated if laymen are to become eligible, and in that case the endowment ought clearly to be provided from some other source, and not, as Mr. Bryce suggested, by the unprecedented step of secularizing the canopies. It is true that many canopies were suppressed, wisely or unwisely, by the Cathedral Act of 1840, but the revenues were in every case reserved for ecclesiastical uses. Mr. Rogers indeed, who has, we believe, acquired the reputation at Oxford of a kind of academical Ishmael, seemed anxious to make a clean sweep of cathedral establishments altogether. This is the natural inference from his rather irrelevant remark that "they had a Dean and Chapter at Christ Church, and the presence of a Dean and Chapter in any place was a corrupting influence." As regards the main point—whether or not it is desirable to abolish all clerical, and therefore by implication all religious, restrictions on these professorships—Mr. Roundell's argument is certainly insufficient to prove it. To say that, "if the Professorship of Hebrew was a theological chair, because Hebrew was the language of Holy Scripture, the same thing would apply to the Professorship of Greek, because Greek was the language of the New Testament," sounds plausible, but is only a plausible fallacy. The Old Testament constitutes substantially the whole of Hebrew literature, and is therefore necessarily and invariably the one subject on which a Hebrew Professor lectures. The New Testament, if in one sense the most important part, is in quantity but an infinitesimal fraction of Greek literature, and is not in fact the subject on which a Greek professor is expected to lecture, or, so far as we are aware, ever does lecture. Moreover, Mr. Story Maskelyne's contention that theology, like other sciences, ought to be thrown open to unrestricted competition, must mean, if it means anything, that all the theological professorships should be secularized, not only those of Hebrew and Ecclesiastical History. As to the latter, no doubt it has to deal with facts which remain the same for an Anglican or an Agnostic. But that the treatment of these facts would inevitably and materially vary in the hands, say, of an Anglican or a Roman Catholic or a Presbyterian professor, or of one who shared the opinions of Gibbon, is too obvious to need a moment's discussion. The first and second, *e.g.*, would be pretty sure to recognize, and the third to deny or ignore, the apostolic origin of episcopacy; the second would maintain, and the first reject, the apostolic origin of the Roman primacy. On such points the fourth would perhaps be the most impartial critic, but he would challenge what all the three others were agreed in regarding as still more vital truths. Let us repeat that we are not here arguing for or against the proposal to secularize

these two chairs; we are only insisting that its advocates have failed to prove that they are "not divinity professorships," and that their arguments really go far beyond the particular point at which they profess to be aiming. Of this Mr. Maskelyne, if not Mr. Bryce also, seemed to be quite aware.

And now to revert to the discussion of clerical restrictions on headships and fellowships. We have already observed that it involves other important considerations besides those on which Mr. Roundell and his supporters exclusively dwelt, and that it cannot be treated as a mere question of religious equality in competing for a money prize. The tutors of Oxford colleges are usually fellows or ex-fellows, and we have to consider whether it is not very desirable that some at least of them should be clergymen. The University Test Act, as Mr. Roundell admitted—and it is only fair to say that he showed no desire to alter this provision—directs that religious instruction and worship shall be maintained in the colleges. And, as the great body of the students frequenting these colleges belong to the Established Church, it follows that the religious worship and instruction provided must be Anglican. On this ground alone it has been argued very plausibly that one resident fellow at least in every College should always be in holy orders, though the mere letter of the technical obligation might be satisfied by appointing a chaplain or clerical outsider of some kind to conduct the chapel services. But the mere technical obligation is after all a very small part of the matter. The feeling of parents, which Mr. Roundell somewhat brusquely put aside, is decidedly in favour of clergymen educating their sons in this country, as elsewhere. And one fact which he alleged on his own side, and which we confess was new to us, goes far to prove it. It seems that of six leading public schools, Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Rugby, and Charterhouse, the headmaster of Winchester only is required to be in holy orders. It therefore becomes a more significant fact that the headmasters of all these, as well as of the other great public schools, old and new, invariably, or almost invariably, are clergymen. Even in smaller and inferior schools the change from a clerical to a lay headmaster almost always indicates a decline in the reputation and character of the school. Nor is the explanation far to seek. Parents, as a rule, prefer entrusting their children to clerical educators, and the really flourishing schools are accordingly conducted on this principle. It rests, as Mr. Beresford Hope observed, on "the common sense of the religious people of England," who are hardly prepared in the matter of education to endorse Mr. Roundell's sweeping indictment of "religious tests as a qualification for important offices." Sir J. Mowbray dwelt on this aspect of the question, which to our apprehension is much the most important of any, though it barely escaped being ignored altogether by speakers on the opposite side. His words are worth quoting:—

In the columns of the *Times* of that day a gentleman who was a strong Liberal in the University of Oxford said that a religious element must be accepted as an integral part of the education. Colleges were regarded as domestic institutions, and attendance at chapel formed a part of the daily life of the inmates. Indeed the honourable member for Grantham himself admitted that the feelings of parents ought to be respected, and certainly parents would not send their sons to colleges where a religious training was not provided. It was argued that there was no provision that the headmasters of schools should be in holy orders. But, in point of fact, they were in holy orders, and even the managers of new schools, if they wanted to induce parents to send their sons there, appointed clergymen to the office of head master.

We are not here concerned to defend this prejudice, if prejudice it is to be called, in favour of clerical educators; it is enough for our present purpose to point to its manifest existence and the probability of its permanence. But there is one obvious reason for attaching even more importance to this point in university than in school education. Boys at school are necessarily kept under a much stricter code of rules than can be enforced on the boys of larger growth—for boys in the main they still are—at Oxford and Cambridge; and therefore at the University external discipline requires all the more to be supplemented by a kindly and judicious exercise of personal or quasi-paternal influence, of authority in the classical sense of the word *auctoritas*. Is it or is it not the case, generally speaking, that this sort of influence over undergraduates is more likely both to be efficiently exercised and to be readily welcomed when it comes from a clerical monitor? We do not ourselves feel the slightest doubt as to the true reply.

It may be said that all this goes rather to show that colleges would be unwise in not taking care to have an appreciable contingent of clergymen on their staff than that it is necessary or worth while to secure by legislative provision the bare minimum of clerical fellowships sufficient for the exigencies of religious worship and instruction as contemplated by the Test Act. Nor can it be denied that the old arrangement which made ordination in most cases an indispensable condition for retaining a fellowship had a tendency to reduce a solemn religious act to a mere formal acceptance of obligations lightly or reluctantly undertaken, and thereby to degrade the clerical profession altogether. The objection, however, is one that will not bear pressing too far; it applies to many things besides clerical fellowships, such as family livings; and when the duties of a particular office are of a kind that can be most fitly discharged by a clergyman those who feel no vocation to clerical life are hardly the right persons to seek for it. It is not however our purpose to do what Parliament was very rightly advised to decline doing at Mr. Roundell's invitation. We have no wish to anticipate or to dictate the conclusions at which the University Commissioners may ultimately arrive on this matter. The long-established relations of the Colleges at Oxford and Cam-

bridge to the Church of England have been already so materially altered by recent legislation that it may be difficult or inexpedient to preserve the few remaining links by special enactment. On that point we are content for the present to await the judgment of the Commissioners. But, whatever may be the final decision on what is at best a mere matter of detail, we trust the Colleges themselves will not lose sight of the grave responsibility attaching to their discharge of the functions entrusted to them, which is rather increased than diminished by the greater measure of independence involved in every withdrawal of previous restrictions on their freedom of choice. It is their duty at all events, whether or not the method of discharging it be expressly enjoined by the Legislature, to provide not only for the maintenance of formal religious worship and instruction within their walls, but for the moral as well as the intellectual training of their undergraduate members generally. And this provision will not be adequately secured if fellowships and tutorships are treated as mere prizes to be awarded to the highest bidder in a competitive examination, with no regard to any religious considerations except that principle of absolute religious equality to which Mr. Lyulph Stanley assures us "the Liberal party as one man are intensely pledged." There is such a thing as *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*, and religious equality, which is in itself a purely negative idea, may be so worked as to be not conservative but destructive of the principle and practice of religion.

MR. TOM TAYLOR.

SOME thirty or more years ago Mr. C. A. Bristed, an American gentleman, who had been at Yale College, came over to England, became a fellow-commoner of Trinity, Cambridge, and published an interesting and valuable book called *Five Years in an English University*. In the course of this volume he gave some sufficiently vivid sketches of the more prominent men of the day at Trinity with whom he was associated, heading his portraits with more or less transparent pseudonyms. Among these sketches, that of "Tom Travis"—in other words, of the late Mr. Tom Taylor—is both marked and attractive. Mr. Bristed made a supper at "Tom Travis's" serve as the occasion for giving a description of various persons, many of whom have since risen to eminence, in Mr. Tom Taylor's set; and began, as was fitting, with some words as to the host, which we need not apologize for quoting:—"At the head of the table sits our worthy 'coach,' Tom Travis." His fine presence, we are told, did not show to the best advantage in a loose shooting-coat, and his intellectual features were done injustice to by the quaint smoking-cap which he wore. But, "take him as he is, he is a rare fellow, with American versatility and English thoroughness. He knows nearly a dozen ancient and modern languages, more or less correctly; and, when you bring him out on Greek, he would astonish a room-full of Yankee Professors." His mathematics he had apparently got up because, according to the then system, he was obliged to do so in order to take honours; and it is well to remember that it was not every mind that was equal to the strain thus arbitrarily put upon it. He had a love for seeing character, which led him, amongst other things, to "go off among the gipsies, Borrow-fashion," and stay with them long enough to learn their language, then much less known than recent researches and experiences have made it. He was "independent in politics, and *juste milieu* in domestic matters, very fond of law, and equally so of theology—fonder of the theatre than either. Perhaps he will be a nominal barrister, and an actual writer for *Punch* and the magazines. . . . Perhaps some of his Liberal friends at 'the University we've got in town,' profanely called *Stinkomalee* by Oxonians and Cantabs, will make him Professor of Greek—or English, or Zincoli; it's all the same to him—in that great institution. . . . And, after all, there are worse parsons than he would make, yea, even in old Connecticut, for there is great earnestness in the man and benevolence extraordinary. . . . Any of these things Tom Travis may be (I ought not to omit the opinion of his *gyp*, who holds him in absolute veneration, that Mr. Travis will leave the College a Fellow and come back a Judge); at present he is a Bachelor Scholar and a coach of rising reputation." Later on Mr. Bristed, who was "coached" by Mr. Tom Taylor, writes:—"Travis certainly put more into me in seven months than I could have acquired by my own unassisted labours in two years; and of his exertions in my behalf I shall always retain a grateful memory."

The American writer's prophecy (which, however, may have been written after the event) as to the future of his popular "coach," whose death is now deplored by a wider circle than that of his friends and acquaintances, was curiously happy. Mr. Tom Taylor, who was born in 1817, the son of a Sunderland brewer and a German mother, left Glasgow University, where he gained three gold medals, to go in 1837 to Trinity, Cambridge. Here, although he found time to write for the *Independent*, to devote himself to practical studies of art, and to get up the private theatricals which were the forerunner of the "A.D.C.," he was elected, as his *gyp* foresaw, a Fellow of the College, after having gone out as a Junior Optime in the Mathematical and taken a First in the Classical Tripos. In 1843 he came to London, and became, in Mr. Bristed's words, a nominal barrister and an actual writer for *Punch*, and very likely also for

the magazines. He also became a Professor, not of Greek or Zincoli, but of English language and literature at University College, London, and held the post for two years. In 1850 he was appointed Assistant-Secretary of the Board of Health, and held various Government appointments until the office in which he was placed was abolished, and he consequently retired from the public service on a pension. "In the meantime," we learn from the *Times*' notice, "he had so far profited by the little leisure left to him as to win a prominent place among men of letters as a dramatist, critic, biographer, and humourist." The drama, to which in childhood he had shown a strong leaning, occupied a very large part of his attention, and he was probably known better to the public at large by his many successful plays than by his skilful and laborious exertions in other departments of literature. His earliest dramatic successes were associated with the names of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Wigan, in whose house he lived for a time after leaving his chambers in the Temple; and he had plenty of ability and versatility to enable him to follow up a fortunate start, until he became one of the most successful and, in many respects, one of the most meritorious dramatists of the day. His knowledge of stage effect and of the requirements of dramatic construction was consummate; and his dialogue, never aiming at startling brilliancy, was always effective and to the purpose. Among his most successful dramas which have been lately performed may be mentioned *The Ticket-of-Leave Man*, a successful version of *Le Retour de Melun*; *Clancarty*, an admirably written and original play; and *Our American Cousin*, also an original piece, which has had a strange and in some ways not unhappy fortune. Written in the first instance with the American cousin as its central figure, it gradually became identified with Mr. Sothorn's striking invention of Lord Dundreary, and the plot of the play, which is wanting neither in effect nor ingenuity, is now subordinated to the never stale humours put by Mr. Sothorn into what was originally a trifling part. The list of Mr. Tom Taylor's dramatic successes is so long that it would be tedious to dwell upon all, even of the most prominent among them. *Plot and Passion*, however, *The Overland Route*, *Still Waters Run Deep*, and *To Parents and Guardians* may be specially mentioned. The two last-named pieces were originally produced by or for Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Wigan, and have lately been revived, the one for Mr. and Mrs. Kendal, the other for Mr. Arthur Cecil, with happy results.

It is probable, as we have hinted, that many people know the name of Mr. Tom Taylor as that of a successful playwright who has given them much enjoyment, and do not know how varied and successful were his performances in other branches of the literary profession. His art criticism in the *Times* was a work both of labour and love, and, if it erred, erred always in the direction of indulgence rather than of severity. His biography of the unfortunate painter Haydon not only treated a difficult subject with much tact, but will remain a work of much interest and value. His dramatic criticism was both learned and practical, and an excellent instance of its merit is to be found in one of the last articles of the kind which he wrote—the review of *As You Like It*, published not long since in the columns of *Punch*. He was a contributor to *Punch* from his arrival in London up to the date of his death, and succeeded the late Mr. Shirley Brooks as its editor. He occasionally indulged his early love of acting by appearing in amateur or semi-amateur performances; and a year ago he gave what is said to have been an excellent performance of Adam in *As You Like It*, on the occasion of the Calvert memorial performance at Manchester. It has been justly said, except in one strangely cynical and ill-timed notice of his career, that Mr. Tom Taylor's place in the literature of our day will be hardly filled. It remains only to add that the attractive and sterling qualities dwelt upon by his American pupil at Cambridge remained with him throughout a hard-working and well-spent life.

MILITARY EDUCATION.

WE have of late heard comparatively little of the carping which was once so common at the better education now required of our officers, and we may probably hope to hear less and less of it as time goes on. In truth, the sort of criticism generally advanced on the subject is probably often not answered because it does not need answering. If, for example, an officer who has passed through the Staff College happens not to be a good rider, the case is cited as if proving that the Staff College is a useless, if not positively harmful, institution, and the course pursued there by no means the proper sort of test for determining the selection of Staff officers. Now it does not necessarily follow that the best officers of the army will go to the Staff College, although the presumption is a strong one that they will do so; there may be causes at work to keep them away, and the system has yet to be discovered which shall unerringly bring to the front the best men in any profession, when, as is the case with the army during peace-time, the opportunity is not afforded for the full exercise of ability. It is only active service which can show who are really the best soldiers. But this, at least, the present system ensures—that the men chosen for the Staff shall have given evidence of industry and fondness for their profession by undergoing a long and laborious course of preparation; they must be men above the average in respect of intelligence, or they would not have gained admission in the first instance; and if now and then a man passes through

who is not so good a rider or so physically strong as is desirable, this is not the fault of the system, but of commanding officers, who are weak enough to recommend improper candidates for admission. But the merits of a system should be judged, not by reference to an ideal standard which in practice cannot be attained, but by comparison with what it has replaced. The champions of the good old times forget that, if the guarantee for physical efficiency is not quite complete at present, there was none at all under the old. When staff appointments were a matter of simple patronage, men incompetent in this respect, as well as in every other, might be, and frequently were, appointed to the staff. In the Indian army staff appointments have always been given by selection subject to no test—that is, by interest and favour, or in other words, by simple jobbing; and in no army in the world used there to be a larger proportion of incompetent staff officers, assistant quarter-master-generals who could not survey, and assistant adjutant-generals who could not ride. Things have been better of late, because recent commanders-in-chief have shown a stronger sense of responsibility in their patronage than was usual before. But even now the practice is too common, when, once a man gets on the staff, to keep him there for the rest of his service, long after he has begun to deteriorate, and when he has from disuse lost that knowledge of the requirements of the army which can only be gained by personal contact with the troops. The Indian practice, in fact, has all the faults of the French staff corps system, in the staff officers being a body apart from the rest of the army, without its merit of supplying a picked article in the first instance. It may be added that the Staff College system has by degrees undergone a useful change in the direction of giving more attention to the practical parts of the profession and less to abstract science than was the case at the outset, and it is now probably as good a course of the kind as could be devised.

It is rather in our military education at an earlier stage that there is a call for further reform. A striking point about the present arrangement is the difference between the system pursued at Woolwich, for the education of artillery and engineer officers, and that now established at Sandhurst, where the greater part of the line and cavalry receive their training. The Woolwich course offers little that is open to criticism; it extends over two years and a half, and includes as many subjects as the time available will admit of being taught; but the question at once arises why a degree of education which is considered necessary for the Engineers and Artillery should not be deemed equally necessary for the rest of the army. It is no answer to say that the former are *par excellence* the scientific services. The ordinary duties of an engineer officer call rather for practical skill than scientific attainments. So, too, provided there are a sufficiency of artillery officers qualified to deal with the scientific problems that arise in connexion with artillery practice—and from among so large a body these will always be forthcoming—a very moderate amount of scientific knowledge will suffice for the mass of the regiment. We are not objecting, however, to the Woolwich course being more strictly of a more scientific kind than that given at Sandhurst, or proposing that mathematics, for example, should be taught at the latter place; although it is certainly a pity that the young men who gain admission to Sandhurst by their proficiency in mathematics should not be allowed the opportunity of developing their taste in that line, and should be obliged to give up the study whether they will or not. Our objection is that a great deal of what may be strictly termed the practical part of the profession should be altogether neglected at that place. As regards the study of modern languages, for example, there is something on the face of it absurd in the comparison between the attention given to these at Woolwich, and the utter neglect of them at Sandhurst. The Sandhurst cadet, indeed, is required to pass a qualifying examination in French or German as a condition of admission. But having obtained the very elementary knowledge of the language necessary for this purpose, these subjects are henceforth dropped, just at the point when further instruction in them would be particularly useful. There would be a show of reason for this if the Engineers and Artillery got all the Staff appointments of the army; but since, as a matter of fact, they are almost entirely excluded from these, the inference is rather the other way—the officers who furnish the staff ought to get the teaching. So likewise as regards military history, absolutely no reason can be assigned why the Ordnance corps alone are to learn how campaigns have been won and armies led. They can never hope to lead an army, except in India. If there is any branch of the army for which such a study is unnecessary, it should be these services and not the infantry.

The truth is that the Sandhurst course is rather one of training than of education in the proper sense of the term. It comprises drill, gymnastics, a little surveying, the outlines of military law and administration, riding, and some practice in throwing up field works. All these are very useful things in their way; but the question seems to be whether, considering the limited time available, this is the best use to put it to. It is in the time given that the difference in the training of the two classes of cadets is most conspicuous. While at Woolwich the course extends over two years and a half, at Sandhurst it is brought within the compass of a year, or, if the very liberal vacations are taken into account, about eight months. This extreme brevity of the Sandhurst course is a result of the condition, introduced two or three years ago, that all officers, except the minority who get their commissions through the militia, should pass through the Royal Military College. Now as Sandhurst holds only three hundred cadets, and as nearly that

number are wanted to fill vacancies every year, it follows that the stay at Sandhurst must be limited to one year. Indeed it has happened that when the regimental vacancies are in excess of the ordinary average of three hundred a year, it has been necessary to pass the batches through the College after a course of only half the prescribed time. It need hardly be said that in a six-months' course only the merest smattering of instruction of any sort can be given; in fact, the instructors have hardly time to learn their pupils' names.

This being the state of the case; as Sandhurst is not readily capable of expansion, and as there would be great objections to establishing a second military college, while there is no sound reason why the Infantry should be less thoroughly educated than the Artillery and Engineers, it certainly appears desirable that the present system should be reconsidered. One solution of the difficulty would be to alter the rule which sends all officers, save those who enter the army through the militia, to Sandhurst; to take in a smaller number there, and to keep them there longer; and to educate those who are received more thoroughly. There is no part of the present Sandhurst course which a young officer might not acquire almost equally well after he joins his regiment or under a garrison instructor. By a rearrangement of this sort the Sandhurst course might be made as complete and efficient as that established at Woolwich, and a part of the officers of the army at least might be thoroughly trained for their profession. It would be necessary to make up in some way to those who pass through the college for the loss of time spent there, as compared with those who pass into the army direct; but it should not be difficult to arrange this, say by letting the time at Sandhurst count as service, or by giving a certain number of lieutenancies to be competed for, or in other ways that will readily suggest themselves. It must be further remarked that even the very limited time now available at Sandhurst does not seem to be altogether turned to the best account. In many respects, indeed, the present system is a great improvement on the various experimental systems which it has succeeded. The tone of the place is good; the cadets are healthy, robust, and well-conducted, and appear to show a fair degree of zeal and interest in the different subjects they are taught. But, although a certain amount of reaction in favour of leisure and out-door amusement may be expected, and even desirable, after the course of grinding which so many of them have just gone through at their respective crammers, where they have been losing the benefit of all that was wholesome and hearty in their previous school-life; still, a course of study which is ended each day by about half-past two o'clock, and leaves the cadet nothing to do from that time until he goes to bed, except perhaps a little gymnastics or riding, and such occupation as is afforded by partaking of a comfortable mess dinner, can hardly be pronounced very exacting or even complete. There certainly appears something incongruous, to say the least, in the arrangement by which the students at one military college are required to work from morning to night, while at the other they enter by anticipation on the ease and comparative idleness of regimental life. The only objection which the cadets themselves ever make to the present Sandhurst system is that they find the time hangs a little heavily on their hands, from there being nothing to do of an afternoon or evening, a criticism which is curiously suggestive of the sort of change needed. An hour or two of these long afternoons and evenings spent in reading French or German military history in French or German would certainly not be time thrown away.

HAYMAKING.

THE agriculturist who in the bitterness of his soul defined hay as a great deal of beer and labour superadded to grass, spoke words which must appeal to the sympathy of many country gentlemen at this season of the year. There is something about the very name of hay which chills the heart of amateur farmers, for it is associated with discomfort, loss of temper, and loss of money; and few words have been oftener accompanied by those strong expletives for which the fine old English gentleman is so justly famous.

There have been wise men who have set their faces against making their own hay. Why, said they, should a man make his hay at home any more than his boots or his trousers? and they have even gone so far as to maintain that home-made hay is generally as bad as home-made law. So long as they kept their faith they found country life easy and agreeable; but now and then they have been known to waver from their admirable creed, and to taste the forbidden fruits of the hayfield. Their gardener or factotum has persuaded them that, after all, it would be a great economy to "take a crop" off a certain pasture or park; that it would yield so many tons of the finest upland hay, and would absolutely benefit the quality of the grass for the future. If the master objects that the risk of a wet harvest would be serious, the servant answers that, with ordinary care, it would be easy to "pick three or four fine days in July," when, by putting on all available hands, the whole thing might be knocked off without delay. The faithful servant does not wish to persuade his master to do anything he does not like, but when he sees a thing that "wants doing" he considers it his duty to speak. And so, in a weak moment, the master gives his consent, and some dozen acres of land are told off for hay. The troubles of the future hayfield may be said to begin in the autumn, or at any rate

in the early winter. If it is suggested that it might be well to dig more manure into certain flower beds, the factotum replies that he must economize that valuable compound as much as possible, lest it should run short for the hayfield. At the first hard frost, when all hands are wanted to sweep the pool for the skaters, a strong remonstrance is made because "the men are carting muck for the hayfield." In the spring it becomes necessary to buy more hay for the cows, because there is so little grass. Why is there so little grass? Because the cattle have been taken out of the field intended for hay, and consequently there is so much less available pasturage. Although a good deal of stable-yard manure has already been put on the precious enclosure destined for hay, it is recommended that it should be "artificialled," as the cost of the bone and superphosphate will be trebly repaid by the extra growth of grass which it will produce. Several sacks of this compound are purchased, and for some days after their contents have been thrown over the field a vile smell makes its neighbourhood unendurable. If, as is often the case, the hayfield is situated beneath the drawing-room or dining-room windows, the full flavour of the patent artificial manure is duly appreciated. Many minor cares and troubles in connexion with the hayfield soon present themselves. There are some weak places in the fence, and several men have been employed for many days in repairing them. "Missus's ducks" are making a path through a corner of the growing grass, and "no horses will eat it after ducks have been messing in it." Some arrangement has, therefore, to be made as to these ducks, and the lady says that she will willingly have her favourites killed if it will please her husband, but that so long as she keeps them, "they must go to the water, poor things!" Or it is suddenly remembered that the boys' cricket-ground is in the middle of the hayfield, and there is no other flat piece of grass land about the place; but the only consolation offered to the lads is that it cannot be helped. The growth of the precious grass seems wonderfully slow. Want of rain at a critical period prevents it from making any apparent progress, and excess of moisture at another time makes it grow rank. Kind friends point out what a pity it is that the thistles were not cut at the proper time, as the large patches in some parts of the field will make the hay unpalatable to anything but a donkey.

On large properties a bailiff usually superintends the hay, but where there is no home farm, the paddocks are generally under the charge of the head gardener. As the hay season approaches, this functionary keeps replying to his master's inquiries by stating that the hay is not yet ready for cutting. A friend, however, calls and remarks that he has just carried his own hay "without a drop of rain," and inquires why his host has not also taken advantage of the unusually dry weather. The gardener is sent for and ordered to begin the hay at once. He urges further delay, observing that he has arranged with some mowers that they shall begin to cut it on that day week. After a great deal of unpleasant discussion, it is eventually settled that the important work is to be begun "the day after to-morrow," if mowers can be procured. As these men have to be pressed into the service at short notice, they demand higher wages than the mowers with whom the previous arrangement had been made; but at last the crop is cut, and the haymakers are busily engaged in throwing the grass about to persuade it to become hay. Every hand about the place is sent into the hayfield. The gardeners, the men from the stables, and even the footmen are enlisted for the service. There is often a wrangle with the butler about the diversion of his forces from their legitimate duties. His objections are met with the argument that the hay season is an exceptional occurrence, and that, under the circumstances, he ought to endeavour to be obliging. He grudgingly consents because he would "do anything to please his employer"—butlers no longer have masters—but he mutters a great deal about "his place" and the difficulties of "washing up." It turns out that the mistress of the house has thoughtfully invited a large party of neighbours to luncheon, and has promised them that they shall afterwards play lawn-tennis, and have tea and strawberries in the hayfield—an arrangement obviously conducive to the furtherance of the hay harvest and the pacification of the butler. During the happy time of hay-making it is almost impossible to get a servant to do anything. The carriage cannot be taken out, because the grooms are in the hayfield. The garden looks wretched, because the gardeners cannot leave the hay to pluck a weed or to mow the turf. They have not even time to gather strawberries or vegetables sufficient for the house. The drawing-room and hall look miserable, because the gardener cannot spare a moment to attend to their decoration with flowers. The lawn-tennis ground is unusable, because the grass upon it is several inches long. The only amusement remaining is to tap the barometer and speculate on the probability of rain. At last the gardener says that the hay is ready for carrying. Unfortunately, the person most concerned in its after use is of the contrary opinion. Hay carried in such a state will never, says the stud groom, be fit for hunters. The gardener "hopes he knows his business"; but the glass is still rising, and the master determines to give the hay one day more. Towards evening it becomes oppressively hot, and the rumbling of distant thunder warns the haymakers that there is many a slip betwixt the haycock and the stack. In an hour or two a heavy storm bursts over the neighbourhood, sheets of rain deluge the hayfield, and, when there is a slight cessation in the fury of the elements, the cocks are found to be beaten down and sodden. The gardener says, "I told you so"; but the groom lifts the upper half of a haycock, and shows that the lower part is still dry. The next morning the hay has

to be re-made, and in the afternoon another storm recurs at about the same hour as that of the day before. Thunderstorms often follow each other for several consecutive days, and broken weather not unfrequently succeeds them. The hay is therefore constantly made and re-made, during each of which operations it loses some of its virtue. Now perhaps it is the groom who wishes it carried, and the gardener who wishes for delay. This sort of thing sometimes goes on for three weeks or even a month, the hay meanwhile losing its colour and deteriorating in quality. Its owner is miserable. He can enjoy nothing, and he feels as if it would be wrong if he were able to enjoy anything. Is not his hay out, and what business has the man whose hay is out to be happy? The idea is rapidly developing itself in his mind that the produce of his hayfield will be fit for nothing but manure, and he is weary of the sight of his discoloured haycocks.

We have perhaps said enough to prove that the owner of a hayfield does not live a life of ease and tranquillity during the harvest; but with his haymakers it is far otherwise. The wetter the weather the better for them. They must be retained at haymaking wages until the harvest is finished, be the weather wet or dry. Each time that the hay has to be re-made, the beer barrel again begins to flow. What can be better for them than that a fine morning should induce the gardener to set them to work to turn over the hay, and that, while they are drinking their first edition of beer, a friendly shower should suspend harvest operations for an hour or two? Even when the long-wished-for carrying day at length arrives, it is not all smooth for the master. It will be lucky if there is not a row between the butler and the gardener about the amount of beer required, between the gardener and the groom about the fitness of the hay for carrying, or between the master and some or all of these functionaries about some subject or other connected with the all-absorbing hay. Worst of all, it sometimes happens that a valuable servant, who has been remarkable for his sobriety, gets drunk on these occasions. The crowning catastrophe is the harvest supper, after which it is likely enough that there will be a fight, a flirtation—with serious consequences—or an unseemly disturbance.

Occasionally, but rarely, the crop is got in under favourable conditions, when the chances are that it has been so light, or so sunburnt, that it was scarcely worth carrying; or perhaps it happens that hay is so cheap and plentiful that it is almost provoking that one does not want to buy. There are many worries in country life; but we know nothing which is so pre-eminent for producing loss of temper, general inconvenience to masters, and wrangles among servants, as the institution of haymaking.

YACHT-RACING.

IN an article on racing yachts which appeared in the *Saturday Review* on the 10th of April last, we mentioned two large cutters which were being built, and pointed out that no small interest would attach to their performances, inasmuch as they might be considered to represent respectively the Clyde and the Solent, and also because one of them might be considered to represent the latest ideas of naval architects, being constructed of steel, while the other represented the old school, being constructed of wood. Both these vessels have now appeared, and the steel craft, which sailed in the first races of the season, has achieved a series of brilliant victories, and has already attracted more attention than has been given to any racing vessel for a very considerable period. The wooden cutter was much more tardy in beginning her racing career; but, from what she has quite recently done, it seems possible that she may be a not unworthy rival of the other, and may prove that, for such peculiar craft as racing yachts, the old-fashioned material is as good as the mild steel, about which naval constructors and engineers are just now so enthusiastic. The vessel which is fashioned of this metal is, as we need hardly inform our readers, the *Vandua*, built at a Clyde yard from the designs of Mr. G. L. Watson, a naval architect. Very remarkable, certainly, were her performances during the first five weeks of the present season. She beat the two fine cutters opposed to her in the Thames matches, was first by a long way in the race for all rigs to Harwich, and won there. These were no trifling successes; but it happened that all these races were sailed in light winds. With ships, as with men, it is generally thought that one kind of excellence is incompatible with another, and after the *Vandua's* successes there were prophecies that, though good in smooth water, she would prove fit for very little in a breeze and a sea. Never were prophecies more completely falsified. In the Dover cutter match, the greater part of which was sailed in a smart breeze, the *Vandua* beat the *Formosa* thoroughly. In the match for all rigs off Ostend, when there was a good deal of wind and a nasty sea, she was only a few seconds behind the winner. In the race back, when it blew really hard, she was victorious; and, finally, in a long race from Dover to Cowes, sailed in strong wind, she beat by a great deal the *Egeria* and *Latona*, both of which much exceed her in size. Clearly, therefore, the *Vandua* is no fair-weather vessel, but one which excels even more in strong breezes than in light ones, and naturally enough she has become rapidly famous, and her designer has been justly praised for his skill. It may, however, be observed, without any attempt to depreciate this admirable racing yacht, that some of those who have written about her might have remembered a certain Shakspearian saying with advantage, and not have attempted to exaggerate

her remarkable merits. Unfortunately national enthusiasm has carried her admirers away, and in some of the Scotch papers there has been very silly bragging about the wonderful cutter, the success of which has proved, as some two or three thousand other facts have done, the innate superiority of the Scotch mind over the English. Moved apparently by the delight which has been thus shown, a writer in the *Globe* last week became ecstatic on the subject of the *Vandua*, and described her as "a yacht second to none of her size in the world." The writer's competence to fix the status of a racing yacht in this delightfully broad manner was shown by the fact that in the course of his observations he spoke of "the hideous *Jullanar*, with her protruding bow and raking sternpost." It so happens that the *Jullanar* differs from the great majority of racing vessels in having an upright sternpost, and that this is one of the most marked peculiarities in her design. Very clearly the author of the notice in the *Globe* was writing on a subject of which he was profoundly ignorant; and it might have been thought that the praise of such a critic would be taken by those who had some knowledge of yachts for what it was worth. The appearance of his effusion, however, was altogether too much for Mr. P. M. Watson, the brother of Mr. G. L. Watson, and he rushed into print with a boastful letter, in which he hinted that, kind as the writer in the *Globe* had been, he had scarcely been laudatory enough, and at the same time accepted the title which the acute nautical critic had bestowed on the vessel. After such bunkum as this, it was not altogether unsatisfactory to learn that on the first occasion when there was an opportunity of really testing the comparative merits of the *Vandua* and the *Samana*, the wooden cutter which has been mentioned above, the latter very thoroughly defeated the former.

It is much to be regretted that the *Samana* did not appear sooner, as her participation in the early matches would have given them an altogether exceptional interest. As it was, they were by no means bad or feebly contested races. In the cutter races which have been spoken of, the *Vandua* had for antagonists the *Formosa* and *Cuckoo*. The first was sailed in what seamen love to call a "soldier's wind"—that is, wind which is fair both ways, and, in a reaching race, the Scotch craft fairly beat her antagonists and came in well ahead of both. In the second contest the conditions were much the same; but this time the *Formosa* succeeded in heading her rival, and passed the mark-boat a few seconds before her. The *Vandua* was winner by time; but she was disqualified on the ground of having made an irregular start. The third cutter race, sailed on June 5, was more interesting than either of the other two, as it involved a long beat to windward, and showed, therefore, what the new yacht could do on a cutter's best point of sailing. The wind was well on the quarter for the greater part of the outward run, and with all possible canvas set, the three vessels presented a very beautiful sight as they tore down the river. It was not a little curious to note the difference between the wave raised by the *Vandua*'s bow and the waves raised by the bows of the other two yachts. Coming back, the wind was dead foul, and a strong lee-going tide was running, so that there could hardly be a better opportunity of testing the comparative powers of the trio in smooth-water sailing. The *Vandua* proved her superiority, soon getting to windward of the *Formosa*, and roundly beating both her and the *Cuckoo*. It is to be observed, however, that neither in these nor in subsequent races has the *Formosa* seemed to sail as she has done in her two previous seasons, and that very possibly in some of the later matches she will redeem a reputation which has not been lightly earned.

Next after the contests just mentioned came the race for all rigs from Southend to Harwich, which took place on June 12. Seldom has a more unsatisfactory race been sailed. The start was utterly mismanaged; and the consequence of this bungling was that some vessels went off without the slightest regard to the Club regulations, while others which obeyed them were, in consequence of doing so, placed in an almost hopeless position from the beginning of the day. The wind, which at times almost entirely died away, was very uncertain, so that, owing to mismanagement and mischance combined, there was little significance in the position of most of the vessels as they neared Harwich harbour. The *Vandua* won by more than an hour; but, though she sailed admirably, there can be little doubt that she was favoured by the wind. Next to the Scotch yacht came the *Latona*, which took the second prize. The schooners engaged were the *Miranda*, *Fiona*, and the *Pantomime*, which reappeared after a long absence from English racing fleets. She succeeded in beating the redoubtable *Miranda*, but her victory meant little or nothing, as, in consequence of having obeyed the regulations, the *Miranda* had started a long way astern of her. The contests at Harwich were of little interest owing to light winds and calms, but the sail back to Southend was a fine one, as there was a fairly good breeze. The most remarkable feature in this race was the sailing of the *Miranda*, which in a brilliant fashion avenged the slight put upon her a few days previously. Over a considerable portion of the course the sail was a more or less free reach, and during this the larger *Australia* got well away from the Wivenhoe schooner; but the latter was always within her time, and at the last when it was necessary for the yachts to sail as near the wind as they could, the *Miranda* gained and weathered rapidly. Just before passing the mark-boat the *Australia* touched the ground and hung for a short space; but this accident did not affect the result of the race, as, had it not happened, the *Miranda* must still have taken the first prize. Next to these two schooners were the

Latona, *Fiona*, and *Pantomime*, the last of which, like the *Australia*, got aground. It should be said that in neither case was the captain at all to blame. The mark-boat had been placed absurdly near the pier by some ingenious person who was apparently under the impression that the race was for 5-ton craft. When the expense which may be thrown upon the owner of a large yacht by the grounding of his vessel is considered, it seems astonishing that such a mistake should be permitted. If there was no one at Southend who had sufficient knowledge to moor a mark-boat, nothing could have been easier than to send to some other place on the river for a waterman who had seen a few yacht races and could do what was required.

In the schooner matches of the New Thames and Royal Thames Clubs, sailed on the 19th and 21st of June, the *Miranda* defeated first the *Fiona* and then the *Egeria*. Both these races were sailed in light breezes; but on June 23rd, when the Channel match from the Nore to Dover took place, the wind had more strength. In this race all the honours fell to the *Latona* and *Miranda*. The former led during the whole day, and won the Queen's Cup. The other kept close to her throughout, sailing admirably, and in the latter part of the race, when the wind was foul, there was the remarkable sight of a schooner holding her own well with a yawl much exceeding her in tonnage in a steady beat to windward. Indeed, in this her fourth season, the *Miranda* seems to be sailing better than ever, and her performances have been in some respects as remarkable as those of the steel *Vandua*. After the race from the Nore came the regatta of the Cinque Ports Yacht Club, which is, as we need hardly say, one of the most deservedly popular of the whole racing season. This year a fine fleet assembled in the bay, and, with weather happily favourable, the principal race was one of the finest that have been sailed in any waters for some time past. It was of course preceded by the cutter, yawl, and schooner matches. In the first the *Vandua* was victorious, completely vanquishing the *Formosa*, her only antagonist. In the other two, sailed on June 26th, the *Florinda* and *Miranda* were successful. The schooner race was marked by the reappearance of the famous *Gwendolin*, which for some time past had not engaged in any contest. It cannot be said that on this occasion the celebrated schooner much distinguished herself, as in the second round she was sailed hull down by the *Miranda*, and retired from the match. She was destined, however, shortly to redeem her ancient fame. Towards the conclusion of this race the *Miranda*, sailing apparently without any wind at all, glided past the *Florinda* and round the South Sand-Head Lightship in a manner that seemed almost inexplicable. Very different from the calm weather in which this match was finished was that of the morning of the 28th, when the Boulogne race was sailed. There was a strong south-westerly wind, and some sea in the Channel. Eleven vessels started, and for a time the *Miranda* led, the *Latona* and *Egeria* being close to her. Gradually, however, the *Gwendolin*, which had been very unlucky in starting, made her way through the whole fleet, and at Boulogne she was well ahead of everything else. On the run back she showed wonderful speed, but unfortunately when she was some two or three miles from Dover she lost a man overboard, and, as of course she stopped to look for him, was passed by the others. At the time when this accident happened the *Gwendolin* was a good distance ahead of the rest, but not so far as has been stated in some accounts of the race which have appeared. It must be remembered, too, that the other schooners, sailing together somewhat jealously, had got off their course, and thereby greatly aided the *Gwendolin*. Had they taken a better line, they would have been much nearer to her, and possibly she would not have had her time clear at the moment when the accident happened. The *Latona* was the first vessel in, followed by the *Egeria*, and then by the *Miranda*, which took the first prize by time, the *Florinda* taking the second, and the *Vandua* the third. The pace of the leading yachts over the whole course had been, on an average, about fourteen miles an hour, and probably the race was one of the fastest ever sailed; but the enjoyment of this splendid contest was completely marred by the fact that the unfortunate seaman who had fallen overboard from the *Gwendolin* was not recovered, though every possible effort was made to save him.

On the following day, June 29th, the match from Dover to Ostend took place. With a fair wind, the *Miranda* led grandly from one mark-boat to the other, and took the first prize. Some of the competing yachts lost a good deal of ground by an awkward foul at the start. The race off Ostend was sailed in a smart breeze, which freshened as the day wore on, and raised a nasty short sea. Out of seven starters only three—the *Latona*, the *Vandua*, and the *Miranda*—held out to the end, and they passed the mark-boat in the above order, the yawl and cutter being very close together. There was no club race back, but the yacht-owners organized one amongst themselves, and this was won in magnificent style by the *Vandua*, which in a considerable sea left everything else far to leeward of her. She achieved an equally brilliant success on the 3rd and 4th of the present month when in a long beat, for the most part against a strong breeze, from Dover to Cowes she sailed out of sight of the *Egeria* and *Latona*, and arrived far ahead of them. Shortly after this her victorious career met with the check which has been mentioned. Going north, she met the *Samana* twice at the Northern Yacht Club Regatta. On the first occasion the *Vandua* won, but the wind was so uncertain that the result of the race was almost entirely due to chance. In the second match,

sailed in a true wind, the *Samena* thoroughly beat the steel vessel, getting a good lead by the end of the first round, keeping it on every point of sailing, and passing the mark-boat six minutes ahead of the other. There seems to be some reason for supposing that the *Vandura* was suffering from the constant complaint of iron and steel ships—a foul skin—and that she was not sailing her best, or nearly her best. Possibly, when she has been scraped, she will be more than a match for the *Samena*; but then it must be remembered that the necessity for constant docking is a very serious drawback to a racing yacht, and that admiration for this vessel's achievements is of necessity somewhat tempered by the fact that she requires frequent manipulation. If there is to be any more puffing of the *Vandura*, it should in fairness be mentioned as a slight drawback to the merits of the yacht which is "second, &c.," that after a few weeks in the water she must be either docked or beaten.

PROSPECTS OF TRADE.

WHEN commenting last autumn on the sudden and unexpected activity which manifested itself in the markets alike for commodities and for securities, we observed that the experiment which we were about to witness was economically of the most interesting kind. It was whether a revival of trade is possible, not only without a good harvest, but in spite of a succession of very bad harvests? A few years ago nobody would have thought such a thing possible. It was a settled conviction that prosperity could come only from an abundant production of the fruits of the earth; and the conviction was well founded. But the past generation has wrought a complete revolution in the economic condition of the country. Free trade, railway construction, the application of steam to navigation, the electric telegraph, the settlement of vast regions in America and Australia, the subjection, pacification, and unification of India, the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, the development of industry, and the accumulation of wealth, have contributed, each in its degree, to render us less and less dependent upon our own soil for our food, to break down the isolation of countries, and to make the whole commercial world more and more nearly one economic community. False conceptions of national greatness, unwise legislation, imperfect industrial organization, and the backwardness of mechanical invention still interpose many and serious obstacles between produce and its best markets; yet the identification of the interests of all nations has gone far enough to make the question possible. Can there be a revival of trade without a good home harvest? And many conditions were present last year which so favoured a revival as naturally to suggest the question. It was pointed out at the time by Mr. Giffen, and it may now be accepted as proved, that the long depression, with its attendant fall of prices, and the paralysis of credit that followed the Glasgow failure, had diminished production below the requirements of current consumption. Coal and iron masters limited their output, manufacturers restricted their operations, wholesale dealers allowed their stocks to run down. Each was anxious to lock up his money as little as possible, and experimented, therefore, to ascertain with how small a stock he could go on. The result was that stocks ran too low, and an increase of production became necessary. At existing prices, however, the increase would not pay, and consequently an improvement of the markets was indispensable to secure the augmented supply needed. Just when people began to discover that this was really so, another cause came into operation, producing an effect that astonished everybody. With the exception, perhaps, of the South American countries, the United States had suffered most severely from the long depression, and in consequence an unusually large proportion of the population was driven, through want of work in the towns, to the cultivation of the land. Fortunately for all parties, the last three seasons, which were so disastrous in Europe, were exceptionally favourable in the United States. An unprecedentedly large area was tilled because of the breakdown of industrial and manufacturing enterprise; and there was an unprecedentedly bountiful return through the goodness of the seasons. Thus, out of the superabundance of American crops, Europe was fed, and Europe's gold in return was poured into the pockets of the American people. Continued for three successive years, this lucrative exchange restored prosperity to the United States, and once more they resumed the projects of railway building which had been interrupted by the crash of 1873. After a while, this necessitated the buying of English iron and steel on a vast scale; and this buying was accompanied by large purchases of other commodities. The necessity for replenishing home stocks and the eager American demand, coming together, caused that outburst of activity which signalized the autumn and winter. This in its turn led to much wild speculation, which collapsed in the spring. What has been the course of trade since, and what is the present prospect?

This question finds its answer in the Board of Trade returns for last month, which, it will be borne in mind, also give the figures for the last six months, and therefore cover a period beginning when the American purchases were already slackening, and running through the interruption to business of the dissolution and the elections, the breakdown of the recent speculation, and the consequent fall of prices. For the whole half-year we find that imports

and exports have increased, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, almost in the same proportion—22 per cent. in the case of the imports, and 21 per cent. in that of the exports. This growth, *pari passu*, of both sides of the account is highly satisfactory. There is, as we know, a school of reasoners which looks with scant favour upon the expansion of imports as a squandering of the national substance. Enlightened economists have no sympathy with this view. But we may point out nevertheless that a large part of the increase of the imports is in the raw materials of manufactures, such as cotton, flax, hemp, hides, silk, wood, and wool. There is also, of course, a large increase in the import of articles of food. After so many bad seasons, decrease, or even stationariness, in these items would afford cause for serious uneasiness respecting the condition of the country, as indicating a real decline in the purchasing power of the masses of the people. Happily there is no such symptom. On the contrary, there is an increase of 186,000 cwt. in the quantity of wheat imported during the six months, and of 2,396,000*l.* in the value. There is also an increase in the import of barley, as was to have been expected from the badness of the last barley harvest. And generally we may say that the increase in the import of articles of food was over 9½ millions in value. Still the distinctive feature of the imports is increase in the raw materials of manufacture; and this increase is more marked in the single month of June than in the entire six months. Thus in June alone the imports of raw cotton exceeded those of June last year by 51½ per cent. in quantity and 56 per cent. in value; flax 54 per cent. and 80 per cent. respectively; wool 95 per cent. and 106 per cent. In these instances it will be seen that the increase in value is, with one exception, not much greater than that in quantity, showing that rise of price has little to do with the augmentation on which we are commenting. It is further to be remarked that the greater relative increase in the import of the raw materials of manufacture in June than in the six months proves that manufacturers are fairly prosperous, and are looking forward to still better times. Turning now to the exports, as to which we have heard such doleful complaints of late years, we find an increase for the six months of 21 per cent., and for June of about 26 per cent., again showing that June was ahead of the average of the half-year. The expansion still continues to be very largely in steel and iron, and to be due to American buying. Thus for the half-year the increase in the exports of pig-iron to the United States is actually greater than the increase in the total exports; but for June the total exports have risen 306,000 tons, and those to the United States only 199,000 tons. American purchases, that is, still count for more than half the increase; but there is expansion elsewhere, as in the trade to Russia, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. In railroad iron the United States count for less, British America, British India, and Australia having enormously augmented their purchases last month. The increase in the export of cotton piece goods is, however, larger than that even in iron, amounting to about 28 per cent. in quantity. Under this head also the United States have taken more than twice as much as in June last year; but our chief customers were India, China, Turkey, Brazil, and Egypt. There was likewise a large expansion in the exports of wool and woollens, with a smaller increase in silk manufactures, coal, oil-seed, and alkalies.

The inference to be drawn from these facts is clear enough. The raw-material-producing countries have recovered from the collapse of 1873; the United States never were more prosperous; British America is improving; India is shaking off the effects of famine; Australia likewise is doing better; the South American States are distracted by war and attempts at revolution, but they also have shared in the revival. The return to prosperity of these countries has enabled them once more to buy largely of us. But Europe is still suffering from a succession of bad seasons, from bloated armaments, protective tariffs, and political apprehensions. At home, a part of Ireland is famine-stricken, and over the whole United Kingdom the agricultural interest is suffering seriously. We need, therefore, for assured improvement in trade abundant harvests throughout Europe, restored confidence, and some degree of prosperity to the landed interest. With the exception of Russia, the principal countries of the Continent have a fair prospect, as is also the case at home. But more settled weather is required, especially more sunshine. If the harvests turn out well, wheat will probably be cheaper than it has been for many years, and consequently the cost of living to the working classes will be very low, which is always favourable to trade, as it leaves to the masses of the population a larger margin than usual for expenditure on what are luxuries to them. And this will apply not alone to the United Kingdom, but to the whole Continent also. At the same time the commercial negotiations begun with all the wine-growing countries promise to give new force to the stimulus. If, in return for a reduction of the wine duties, the tariff is lowered in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, we may reasonably look for an increase of our trade with these several States. But a good harvest is an indispensable condition. Another bad harvest would be a very serious matter for the farmers, and in Ireland would have grave consequences.

MIDSUMMER RACING.

ASCOT races were scarcely over before betting men were briskly engaged upon their speculations for the Northumberland Plate. We never had much affection for this race. It is generally a terribly gambling affair. The bookmakers get certain horses made strong favourites, and after they have been backed at short prices for large sums of money, evil rumours about them are spread abroad, and then they are sent down in the betting to make room for other favourites, which are treated in the same manner in their turn. Handicaps are not the most attractive kind of races, and the Northumberland Plate is not only a handicap, but one of the most objectionable types of handicap. The first favourite at starting, on the late occasion, was exactly the sort of horse one would expect to be most fancied for a race of this class. His name was Victor Emmanuel, and he had only been out once before this season, when he ran nowhere, but his reputation rested upon his reported performances in private. Thirteen horses started, and of these the greater number were beaten half a mile from home. As they were turning into the straight, the once favourite American horse Parole appeared to be running very well, but he gave way to the favourite, Mycenæ, and Inval when they were running in. It was soon evident that the favourite also was beaten. Mycenæ was now leading. This horse had been at one time a strong first favourite, but after fluctuating at all sorts of prices, he had started at 8 to 1. Inval was racing alongside of him. It will be remembered that Inval had made a tremendous race with Thurio and Insulaire a couple of years ago in the Grand Prix, when there was only a head between each of the three. The race for the Northumberland Plate was also destined to be a severe struggle, and at last Mycenæ just beat Inval by a head. Inval is an unlucky horse; for although in the course of his life he has won some half-dozen races, including the Prix Royal Oak at Paris, a race worth little short of two thousand pounds, he has an unhappy knack of running second and third, and of getting beaten by short heads.

There was fair racing at Stockbridge; but it is scarcely worth a long notice here. There was some two-year-old running, however, which ought not to be overlooked. It will be remembered that at Ascot Sir Charles seemed the best public performer of the two-year-olds that had been out this year. In his first race at that meeting he had beaten a colt called Scobell by three-quarters of a length. At Stockbridge Scobell won two races in a canter, which tended to prove the excellence of Sir Charles. The Stockbridge Cup, a weight-for-age race, was won by a two-year-old called Elie, which beat several very fast horses, including Phénix, Dunmow, and Hackthorpe. Elie was himself beaten on the following day by Capuchin, who had won two races at Ascot. Robert the Devil, the winner of the Grand Prix and the second favourite for the St. Leger, walked over for the Stockbridge Biennial. At Winchester Sir Charles won another race, coming away from his opponents when challenged, and winning in a canter. In the Queen's Plate, for a wonder, Inval managed to win, instead of to lose by a head.

The Newmarket July meeting opened with the Trial Plate, for which Favo, who had won six out of nine races this year, was the first favourite. It ended in a very fine race, as Fordham brought up Attalus, who had been running badly this season, with a rush in the last few strides, and Favo was beaten by a head. Attalus had 10 lbs. the best of the weights. Eleven two-year-olds came out for the July Stakes. A filly named Bal Gal, belonging to Lord Falmouth, was so much fancied that slight odds were laid on her, although she had never run in public before. There was a beautiful race. Iroquois seemed to be winning, but Bal Gal persevered with great gameness, and won by a head. If Iroquois's form in the New Stakes at Ascot was correct, this performance on the part of Bal Gal was not worth much, for Iroquois had been unplaced to Sir Charles, Tristan, and Angelina. But some allowance had to be made for the fact that Bal Gal had never run in a public race until she appeared in the July Stakes. She is a beautiful filly, by Adventurer out of Cantinière. Her engagements are very heavy, and they include the Middle Park Plate, the Two Thousand, the Derby, the Oaks, and the St. Leger; so, if she is really good, she will have plenty of opportunities of displaying her merits. Later in the week the running in the Chesterfield Stakes was greatly to her glorification, for Iroquois won in a canter by three lengths, Tristan being unplaced. Now Tristan had only been beaten three-quarters of a length by Sir Charles at Ascot. If, therefore, the Chesterfield Stakes was a true-run race, Bal Gal might be one of the best two-year-olds of the season; if, on the other hand, Iroquois's running in the New Stakes was correct, the Chesterfield Stakes must have been all wrong.

One of the most interesting races of the week was the Midsummer Stakes. It was thought at one time that Robert the Devil would walk over; but when the day came three horses ran against him. Although he was penalized, nearly 3 to 1 was laid on him. Among his opponents was Cipolata, who had beaten the winner of the Two Thousand and Discord in a Biennial at Ascot, when 20 to 1 was laid against her. She had now 7 lbs. the best of the weights; and, after making the running, she held her advantage to the end, and beat Robert the Devil by half a length. She had run very badly in the One Thousand, but it was said that she had been ailing in the winter, so upon the whole her two victories rather tended to show that she was very good than to depreciate the merits of Robert the Devil. Before the race for the Midsummer Stakes Cipolata

was a 50 to 1 outsider for the St. Leger, but after it she became a good fourth favourite. Last year's Two Thousand winner, Charibert, won the July Cup. Although it is said that he is a roarer, he has turned out to be a wonderfully fast horse over six furlongs. Great complaints were made at Newmarket about the rough scoundrels who have of late taken to patronize the meetings on the Heath. Formerly Newmarket races were remarkable for their quietness and their immunity from the crowds of blackguards which made other meetings horrible. Now, however, Newmarket Heath is becoming a favourite resort of the lowest ruffians; and one night during the late meeting a gang of roughs set upon the police, and triumphantly rescued from the hands of justice one of their number whom the constables had arrested. It is much to be hoped that the authorities will in future strengthen the force of police during the race weeks.

Last autumn we noticed the sale of the entire stock of the Cobham stud, and we then observed that a number of foals had been sold for extravagant prices. A good many of these foals were purchased by the newly-formed Cobham Stud Company, and they were re-sold at the late annual sale of the Cobham yearlings. They did not turn out a very profitable investment to the new Company, for, after being kept for nine months, they were sold for 2,700 guineas less than they had cost. One foal that had been bought for 610 guineas was sold as a yearling for 110 guineas, and another that had cost 250 last autumn now brought in only 50 guineas. The average price realized for the whole of the Cobham stud yearlings was about 176 guineas each, which was a poor price when all their expenses are considered. The heavy losses sustained by backers at Ascot may account in a great measure for the low prices obtained at the Cobham sale; but, even allowing for this, a useful lesson should be learned on the excessive folly of giving exorbitant prices for foals. At the sale of the Cobham stud last year forty-eight foals averaged 270 guineas a-piece; one of them, which was purchased by the Duke of Westminster, realizing 1,100 guineas. At the sale at Cobham this summer yearlings did not average two-thirds of the prices obtained for the foals last autumn, and the highest figure made by one lot was 700 guineas, which happened to be exactly the sum that had been paid for that very colt nine months previously. At the annual yearling sale at Cobham last year the highest price fetched by one lot was 1,300 guineas, and the year before that as much as 2,500 guineas had been received for one yearling. At the Newmarket July sales the highest price obtained last year was just exceeded, a colt by Sterling out of Siluria fetching 1,500 guineas. Last year a filly by the same horse, an own sister to Isonomy, realized 1,400 guineas, while a colt out of Siluria went for 1,000. An own brother to Isonomy was offered for sale last week; but when Mr. Tattersall stated that his reserve price was 2,000 guineas, no bid was made. A filly by Hermit was sold for 1,400 guineas, and a colt by Sterling out of Thalia for 980 guineas. The Middle Park yearlings were sold at Newmarket this year instead of at their own stud farm. The larger proportion of them were by Scottish Chief. The prices obtained were low for a stud of such repute, the highest being 550, and, out of fourteen yearlings, half a dozen did not fetch 100 a-piece. The yearling sales, so far this season, have been anything but encouraging to breeders.

The most exciting event of the racing season has been the supposed discovery that the winner of the Derby was accidentally run under a wrong name, and was therefore disqualified for that race. So much has been said and written on the subject within the last fortnight that it is needless for us to enter into all the details of the matter. The main point of the question was whether two yearlings, one called Bend Or and the other Tadcaster, had been mistaken for each other when taken from a paddock, where they had been running together, to their trainers. Both colts had been entered for the Derby. For the time being this case created as much sensation as the Tichborne trial of odious memory. One important lesson is to be learned from the affair—namely, the great necessity of keeping an accurate register of every foal born at a stud farm. White markings especially should be noted with the greatest precision. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a foal is a bay, a brown, or a very dark chestnut; but about white marks there should be no mistake, and where the general colour is at all doubtful, the fact should be carefully stated. Another moral of the story is that dishonest people must have opportunities for fraud which it is not pleasant to contemplate. If a man had a dozen bay yearlings, and only one of them, perhaps the worst, was entered for the Derby, it seems that nothing could prevent him from deliberately picking out the most promising of the lot and sending it to a trainer's under the name of the colt entered for the Derby.

REVIEWS.

EPHESUS AND ITS COINAGE.*

AMONG the many instances of the stimulating influence of border States, few are more remarkable than the Greek cities of Asia Minor. As the meeting-ground of East and West they combined the qualities of both, and from the mixture of these op-

* *The Coinage of Ephesus.* By Barclay V. Head, Assistant-Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, Corresponding Member of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute. Rollin et Feuardent. 1880.

posing elements was derived much of their prosperity and renown. Among the cities which thus served to link Hellas with the nations from which so much of her greatness was borrowed, Ephesus held from early times a prominent position. Situated in the narrow maritime plain where the Cayster breaks from its mountain course and falls into the Ionian Sea, the city which boasted one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world was well placed as an entrepôt between Greece and Asia. Inferior in political significance to Miletus, and long overshadowed by the commercial fame of Rhodes, Ephesus was nevertheless one of the principal channels of trade with Asia, and after the fall of Miletus it became the first port on the West Coast, "the one great mart of Asia through which the fabrics and products of the East found their way to Europe"; till at last in Roman times it was allowed without dispute to be the queen of the eastern province of the Empire. As the port of Sardes, the capital of the neighbouring Oriental kingdom, it carried on a valuable trade with the interior, and its vicinity to Rhodes, if it dimmed to some extent the commercial fame of the city on the mainland, yet stimulated it to vie with the merchant island as one of the foremost trading cities of Greece. Its secure harbour, "only to be approached from the sea by a long narrow channel full of shoals at the entrance," the convenience of its central position for the defence of the Ionian coast, its large inland trade, and its store of wealth, all tended to make Ephesus a leading city even in a region teeming with active life like the eastern borderland of the Ægean. It is no marvel that "the commerce of Ephesus, great even in the time of the Lydian Kings, when the gold of the Pactolus was already flowing into the plain of the Cayster, grew with each century, in spite of all the wars and revolutions which harassed the west coast of Asia Minor and destroyed many of its most flourishing cities," and that "in the time of Augustus, when the former greatness of Miletus had become a byword; when Lebedus, as Horace tells us, was more deserted than Gabii and Fidenæ, and the other cities which once formed the league of the Panionium had mostly dwindled into obscurity, Ephesus not only maintained its ancient commercial supremacy, but was exalted above all the other cities of Asia Minor by the privileges and titles bestowed upon it by Imperial favour," and permitted to style itself "First City of Asia."

The results of its position as neutral ground wedged in between Europe and Asia are conspicuous in the history of Ephesus, which is the record of one long unbroken struggle between Oriental and Hellenic influences. At first the Ephesians were almost wholly Asiatic. The remnant of Greeks which tarried behind when the Ionian wave rolled on to Hellas scarcely modified the Asiatic character of the people, whose ethnological staple consisted mainly in Carians and Leleges, with such mixture as might come from the Phœnician station at the mouth of the Cayster. The leanings of this ancient Asiatic population of Ephesus were naturally to the great Hittite kingdom which before 1200 B.C. ruled the wide territory from the Euphrates to the cities of the coast, and had its capital at Sardes. When the Ionian reflux brought back many of the Greeks to Asia, the beginning of the Hellenic element as a political influence in Ephesus is to be traced. Androclus, son of Codrus, landing with a body of Ionian Greeks, established his colony, not in the plain where the Ephesians were dwelling, but southwards, on Mounts Priion and Coressus. He chose the spot with a true Greek's eye for beauty. Mr. Wood describes the view from Mount Priion as marvellously beautiful:—

The river Cayster, winding like a white ribbon through the plain, forms in its course numerous small peninsule. The Selinusian lakes, the village and castle on the hill at Ayasolouk, the bay of Scala Nova, the mountainous island of Samos, and the still more mountainous coast beyond, the snow-capped Tmolus to the north, and the ruined city mapped out at the feet of the spectator; these, with countless other objects of interest, make up a panorama of exquisite beauty.

Here the Ionian colonists fortified themselves, and though they soon entered into friendly relations with the people of the plain, accepted their religion, and gradually became merged in their polity, the distinctive Hellenic element was never obliterated, and the efforts of the Ionian colony to link the city of their adoption more closely with mother Hellas, and the counteracting tendency of the inhabitants of the plain to unite with the Oriental Empires in their rear, were among the chief causes of the numerous tergiversations which deface the Ephesian annals. Mr. Newton, in the careful sketch of Ephesian history in his recent *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, says:—

Looking back through the history of the Ephesians from Augustus to Cæsar, we find abundant evidence of their commercial prosperity and of their adroitness in conciliating powerful neighbours, and choosing allies on the winning side; but no heroic self-sacrifice, no daring spirit of maritime adventure, such as distinguished their ancient rivals, the Milesians and the Phœnicians. Their policy throughout is marked by selfishness and cunning; "the lions from Hellas have become foxes at Ephesus" was a familiar Greek proverb.

At first the Ephesians naturally allied themselves closely with the Oriental monarchies—after the Hittites, with the Lydian Mermnadæ; then, on the fall of Croesus, with his Persian conqueror. But when Persia met with the defeat of Mycale, the Ephesians turned over to the winning side, and joined the Athenian confederacy, though probably this change, the result of the Greek element in the politics of the city, was not rendered specially agreeable to the many among its inhabitants who sympathized with Persia by the annual tribute of 1,440*l.* to 1,800*l.* which Athens exacted in payment for a protection with which the Asiatic Ephesians could well have dispensed. The non-Hellenic

element, however, soon reasserted itself; Ephesus seized the first opportunity to break away from the Athenian alliance, and opened its gates willingly to the Spartan Lysander, whose rule, though certainly not due to the Ionian influence in the city, led to a revival of the Hellenic spirit in the efforts he made to recall the people from the Oriental luxuriousness in which they were sunk. A'ter Conon's victory off Cnidus, and the consequent expulsion of the Lacedæmonians from many of the cities of Asia Minor, the tie with Greece was knitted more closely; for it was at this time that a federal alliance, of which M. Waddington has discovered numismatic evidence, was concluded between Rhodes, Cnidus, Samos, and Ephesus. The Spartans, however, shortly afterwards retook the city of Diana, and after disgusting it, in company with other cities of Asia, by the severity of a yoke that was the more unbearable after a period of comparative independence, handed over all their Asiatic possessions to Persia by the disgraceful Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). Ephesus probably suffered little by the transfer. Its sympathies had been with Persia all along, and it was now allowed to enjoy nearly a century of comparative independence, only disturbed by internal contests between the oligarchic party, who looked to Sparta for help, and the democratic, who preferred the alliance of Macedon. Alexander the Great, when he visited Ephesus, did not interrupt this period of autonomy; he only confirmed the democratic party in power, made a great sacrifice to the goddess of the city, accompanied by a march-past of his troops, and had his picture painted by Apelles for the temple of Artemis. But after his death Ephesus was an object worthy the greed of his successors, and was tossed like a shuttlecock from one to another, vibrating between Antigonus, Demetrius, and Lysimachus, Seleucids and Ptolemies, Attalids and Romans, Mithradates and Sulla, till it was established as the capital of Roman Asia and the residence of the proconsul, and "tasted the full blessings of the much-lauded Roman rule," which meant systematized plunder in the cities and man-hunting and slave-driving in the country districts. In Mommsen's words, "every stalk of corn grew for the Roman *decumanus*, and every child of free parents seemed born for the Roman slave-drivers. The most glorious cities were sacrificed, not to the barbarous lust of power, but to the far more horrible barbarism of speculation."

The conflict between Asiatic and Hellenic elements is even more conspicuous in the religion of Ephesus. "Diana of the Ephesians" was a strange combination of Oriental and Greek ideas. When Androclus and his Ionians landed, they found the cult of a Phœnician or Hittite, certainly Asiatic, goddess already firmly established in the plain of the Cayster. She seems to have been an embodiment of the notion of productive nature, and at first sight suggests no analogy with the Greek huntress. This Artemis—or Upis, as she was originally called—of the Ephesians is well known to us from Roman replications (which must have been copied from the statue in the Ephesian temple), as well as from the coins, and she resembles a mummy more than anything else. The body is a mere trunk, with the feet tied together; and the most striking characteristics of her person are the numerous pendulous breasts, by which the fertile goddess of nature is indicated. She is represented as surrounded by various symbols—bees, flowers, fruit, heads of bulls and lions, the crescent moon, and stags, in some of which telluric attributes may perhaps be seen, in others possibly indications of a lunar myth. Her service was superintended by emasculated priests, of whom the chief was called *Easén* (or "King Bee"), or Megabyzus; and by virgins, called *Melissæ* (or "bees"), from whose opposition to the Ionian colonists the Greeks derived their famous legend of the fight with the Amazons. The descendants of Androclus's colony saw in this Asiatic nature-goddess some resemblance to their Artemis, and adopted her just in the same way as the Artemis Leucophryné of Magnesia and the Hera of Samos, both Asiatic divinities, were admitted to the Hellenic Pantheon. But the character of the Ephesian Artemis was always really Oriental, and her power was chiefly felt in relation to Oriental nations. She was the saviour of the city on more than one occasion. When Croesus besieged Ephesus, a rope was stretched between the temple and the wall of the city, in sign of solemn dedication, and the conqueror dared not inflict the penalties he meditated. When Xerxes plundered and ravaged Ionia and its temples, the fame of Artemis alone was unmolested; and hither the great King sent his children for safety after his defeat at Salamis. When the Athenians invaded Ephesus, towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, Tissaphernes offered a mighty sacrifice to Artemis, and raised the people in a sort of *jehad*, or holy war, for her defence. It was the protecting influence of this Asiatic goddess that preserved Ephesus unmoved through the revolutions which destroyed many a braver city; and it was fitting that the cry of the great "Diana of the Ephesians" should be raised against the innovating apostle of the Gentiles.

The value of Greek coins as illustrating the history and mythology of the cities of Hellas is too well established to require proof; but, if further evidence were needed, it would be hard to find a more striking testimony than that afforded by the coinage of Ephesus. Mr. Barclay V. Head, the Assistant-Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, has applied to the subject the same archaeological instinct and experience, and the same scientific method, which characterized his essay on the coins of Syracuse. The *History of the Coinage of Syracuse* was practically the first of a series of monographs on the currencies of the Greek cities which is designed to present the student with a complete view of the Hellenic numismatics—to form a New Eckhel, with all the additional knowledge and experience that has grown up since Eckhel's

time. Mr. Gardner's *Coinage of Elis*, which we lately noticed, is the second part of this valuable undertaking; and the third is the present *Coinage of Ephesus*, which, if deficient in the artistic interest of the earlier parts, is inferior to neither of them in historical importance or in excellence of workmanship. It is impossible to study Mr. Head's arrangement of the long series of coins from B.C. 700 to the Christian era without being convinced of the accuracy of its details, and struck with the patient observation and comparison and the true numismatic instinct which are revealed in every page. In the treatment of the metrological difficulties, no less than in the elucidation of the mystery of the magistrates' names, Mr. Head has been peculiarly successful.

The mythological interest of the coins is very considerable. The Ephesian Artemis appears throughout, either in person or represented by a symbol. There is scarcely a coin from first to last (except the cistophori) whereon the bee, the special symbol of the Ephesian goddess, does not appear; and we find the stag, or two stags (like those of silver which encompassed the gold Artemis dedicated by Salutaris), and the bow, bowcase, and quiver, on many of the coins, as well as the bust of the goddess, and finally her full figure. It is interesting to trace the gradual development of these symbols and representations. At first the bee alone appears, with monotonous regularity, though Mr. Head's quick eye contrives to extract hints for arrangement out of the shape of its wings; then, as Greek influence waxed stronger, the stag, probably a concession to the Greek idea of the goddess, is placed on the reverse; and under Lysimachus the actual bust of the huntress-goddess herself, "chaste and fair," and no Asiatic at all, occupies the principal side, yet with a little bee (*pace* Mr. Newton) on the reverse. The return to autonomy and Asiatic proclivities restored the bee to its old position on the obverse; and, under the protection of Mithradates, the Ephesian mint even issued pieces with the full, mummy-like figure of the Asiatic goddess on one side, retaining, however, the Greek bust on the other. These variations of mythological type are peculiarly interesting when considered in relation to the changeful history of the city; and the only fault we have to find with Mr. Head is that he does not make quite enough out of them, and does not sufficiently explain their meaning.

Historically the coins of Ephesus are of unusual interest. From them alone do we learn the existence of the monetary league which followed the Lacedæmonian defeat off Cnidus, and which is signalized by the issue of a uniform type of reverse—Hercules strangling two serpents—by all the cities of the league. The conquest of Ephesus by Lysimachus is marked by the appearance for the first time of the face of the Greek Artemis, and the bow and quiver, on the coinage; and when Lysimachus presented the city to his wife Arsinoë, and called it by her name, the facts are substantiated by the head of Arsinoë, veiled as a queen, and the letters APEI. Later on we find evidence that the Attalid attempt to establish a pan-asiatic currency was supported at Ephesus by the appearance of Ephesian cistophori, with the cista mystica on one side, and on the other, two serpents coiled about a bow-chest. But the most important historical evidence supplied by the coins consists in the names of magistrates which are generally found inscribed on them after the fifth century B.C. There has been considerable doubt as to who these magistrates were, and how long each held his office. Curtius regarded them as archons, but on grounds which have since been demolished; Lenormant took them to be high-priests of Artemis; Mr. Head holds them to have been the prytaneis, officers corresponding in some respects to the archon eponymus of Athens; and places their tenure of office at one year. The argument by which he supports these points seems irrefragable. In 274 years 238 magistrates' names occur on the coins of Ephesus; the office, therefore, cannot well have been held for longer than one year. If it was half-yearly we should require 548 names; but, as Mr. Head shows from a comparison with the dated coins of Aradus, it is extremely improbable that our series is so incomplete as this would make it, and much more likely that there are not many years that are unrepresented in the collections of Europe. In many of the periods into which the coinage and history of Ephesus fall the number of names nearly equals the number of years, but in no case are there more names than years. After a consideration of these data, it is difficult to see any alternative to the conclusion that these magistrates held an annual office. That the magistrate whose name thus appears on the coinage was the *eponymus* of the city, the first Prytanis, or President of the Council of Prytaneis, who superintended the execution of the decrees of Boule and Demos, ordered the public sacrifices, looked to the taxes, inspected the markets and harbours and highways, and gave his name to the year, is demonstrated by a series of historical confirmations which signally attest the present high development of the science of numismatics. An Ephesian inscription published by Mr. Wood, and attributed to the years 324 to 319 B.C., gives the names of four prytaneis who were the eponymi of four successive years. Turning to Mr. Head's corresponding period, arranged, let it be understood, simply on general principles of style and palæography and the like, with no dates to guide him, we find three of these four names actually occurring on the coins. The fourth will doubtless be found in time. Another inscription mentions a certain Badronius—a name which appears on a coin of the corresponding period in Mr. Head's arrangement, and is nowhere else to be found in Greek literature or antiquities. Josephus speaks of an Ephesian decree of B.C. 43, beginning with the words *Ἐρι πρυτανίως Μηνοφίλου*, and, among the coins classed by Mr. Head as after B.C. 48, the name of Meno-

philus is discovered. These three historical notices place beyond dispute Mr. Head's view that the magistrate of the coins was the eponymus Prytanis; but the modest way in which he states his argument and enumerates his discoveries conveys but a slight impression of their singular value to any but the initiated. That a long series of coins should be arranged chronologically on minute grounds of style, which it needs a numismatist even to understand, yet so accurately that when an inscription appears it only confirms the arrangement, is the strongest possible testimony to the archaeological instinct of the arranger. But no one can study this interesting volume, with its fine photographic (autotype) plates, without being astonished at the certainty to which the science of numismatics in the hands of such scholars as Mr. Head has attained, and the amount of artistic, mythological, historical, and even economical knowledge that is to be derived from the patient study of the monetary series of a Greek city.

LES DEUX MASQUES.*

M. PAUL DE ST-VICTOR, the author of a vast work on the drama of which the first instalment lies before us, is not so well known to the English public as he deserves to be. For many years M. de St-Victor, a man of wide literary knowledge and the most picturesque of writers, has contributed critical *feuilletons* to various Parisian newspapers. Like Gautier, he has written on almost all literary and artistic subjects; like Gautier's, his style is rich and sparkling, though it has a sort of stiffness as of brocade, which differs from the pliancy and flexibility of the elder and more famous journalist. M. de St-Victor has never, as far as we know, displayed the high animal and intellectual spirits of Gautier's earlier criticisms and essays, as shown, for example, in *Les Grotesques* and *Les Jeune-France*. In a volume named *Hommes et Dieux*, published many years ago, M. de St-Victor collected a number of his scattered papers. He wrote about Greek art and religion, about Helen and Artemis, about Henri III. and Nero, about Charles II. of Spain, about the mediæval Jews, about the poets of the Greek Anthology, and a score of other subjects; and all his essays had some rather remote or even fantastic interest. They were almost overlaid with far-fetched verbal ornament, though the search for images and illustrations obviously gave the author no trouble. His mind is an opulent store of simile and anecdote, and he scattered his wealth "as rich men give, that care not for their gifts." The consequence has been that English essayists steal freely from M. de St-Victor, and abstain from calling public attention to his *Hommes et Dieux*. His other little volume, *Barbares et Bandits*, was written while the Prussians and the Commune besieged or lorded over Paris. It is touched with the shame, the terror, and the anger of those times, and the admirers of M. de St-Victor will lose little if they neglect *Barbares et Bandits*. For many years the covers of M. de St-Victor's books have borne the advertisement of a forthcoming work, *Les Masques et les Bustes*. Perhaps that volume is among those which only exist in prophetic advertisements. The new book, or rather the first instalment of the new book, on the theatre, *Les Deux Masques*, derives its title from the tragic and comic aspects of the Greek Muse. This volume deals with *Æschylus*, and, as it contains no less than five hundred and fifty pages, it is plain that M. de St-Victor has plenty of ground to cover before he reaches Molière or even Shakspeare.

The author explains his own method in a short preface:—

Much has been written on the theatre of the Greeks. I have tried to deal with a subject so often handled, if not in a better way than my predecessors, at least in a different manner. Mythology and history hold as important a place in my work as literary criticism. To restore the Greek tragedies and comedies to their original environment, to illustrate and enlarge the study of these pieces by a wider study of the ancient world, with the hints and historical parallels which such a study suggests; to lift the mask of every god and of every person who appears on the scene, with the purpose of describing his religious aspect or legendary character; to comment on the four great Athenian poets, not so much in the letter, as in the light of the spirit, of their works, and of the genius of their time—such is the plan that I have traced for myself, and have endeavoured to execute.

Our purpose at present is to examine M. de St-Victor's general system—a system which is to be employed on so large a scale—to criticize his mythological ideas, and to remark on what we venture to think singular aberrations of literary taste. The system is the scientific one of restoring, as M. de St-Victor says, the plays to their religious and historical environment. First the author sketches the growth and development of the worship of Dionysus, in whose service the old choral dances and songs had their place. Then he speaks, more briefly, of Thespis and Phrynicus. Next he writes at length on the history of *Æschylus* and of his period. The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters recount the story of the Persian war, with all the wild legends of oracles, portents, and apparitions of Gods which give the Muses of Herodotus their epic character. The reader is now in a position to understand the temper in which *Æschylus* wrote, and in which Athens watched the *Persæ*, a play which M. de St-Victor criticizes with great abundance of historical illustration. He repeats the tales of Persian loyalty, and of the cruelty and the power of the Sultanas, so that the reader may understand the Chorus of Persian peers and comprehend the position of Atossa, the mother of Xerxes. Beyond

* *Les Deux Masques*. Par Paul de Saint-Victor. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1880.

this we do not intend now to follow M. de St. Victor; his account of the *Orestia* may be reserved for some later occasion.

To begin at the beginning—M. de St. Victor indulges freely and at great length in mythological speculations about Dionysus, the god of the vine and the patron of the drama. We cannot but think it unfortunate that he has fallen into the Vedic trap which is set for all literary students of Greek mythology. We must say again, as we have so often said before, that the interpretation of the Vedas, with all the inferences which may be drawn from those hymns, is in a most chaotic condition. While Mr. Max Müller and Mr. Sayce, with their pupils, seem to regard the Vedas as "primitive" works which contain information about the origins of Aryan religion, other students point out that the Vedas, far from being "primitive," are the hymns of a civilized people, and that about the origins of religion they can tell us no more than the Christmas articles in the *Times*. Again, while Mr. Max Müller disputes the presence of fetishism in the earlier Vedas, and hence inclines to suppose that fetishism is not "primitive," but a corruption of primitive religion, other authorities see in the Vedas the ritual of a fetishism that has been highly organized. We have not to decide between these contradictory views, and other views which also are entertained. But it is plain enough that the literary student who takes up any theory of Vedic religion and applies it to his purely literary studies is extremely likely to lose his way and to encumber his books with material that may soon be exploded. Yet critics go back to the Vedas, just as older writers always started from the Garden of Eden, Hebrew the primitive language, and the rest of it. M. de St. Victor begins by declaring that "the Vedas, now an open book, have revealed the direct relation of the religions of Greece with the first beliefs of the Aryan race." Well—for we must take a side after all—we do not believe that the Vedas tell us anything whatever about "the first beliefs of the Aryan race." One might as well say that the hymns of Pentaur tell us about the first beliefs of the Egyptian race. Did not the ancestors of the Hellenes leave the general Aryan stock long before the Vedas were composed in Sanskrit? This is a point about which information seems desirable. Philology, says Mr. Max Müller, gives us "what we may call contemporary evidence, exhibiting to us the state of thought, language, religion, and civilization at a period when Sanskrit was not yet Sanskrit, Greek not yet Greek, but when both, together with Latin, German, and other Aryan dialects, existed as yet as one undivided language" (*Chips*, vol. ii. p. 17). The Vedas are composed in Sanskrit, and we are anxious to know whether the ancestors of the Greeks had left their "Aryan home" before Sanskrit was a language? If they had, there must be a gap of many centuries between the Aryan dispersal and the composition of hymns in a language which did not exist when the ancestors of the Greeks and of the Brahmins dwelt together. In that case, what can the Gods of Greece have to do with the Vedas? The common elements of Greek and Indian religion must, if this be so, have existed hundreds of years before there were Vedic hymns, or even a Sanskrit language. What light, then, do the hymns to the Soma juice throw on the worship of Dionysus? And these common elements must be much more "primitive" than the Vedas. M. de St. Victor has not reasoned thus; he has reasoned that the Aryans when they entered Greece bore with them the worship of Soma, and he calls a Vedic hymn "cette apparition primordiale de Bacchus." Yet, when he comes to criticize the religion of Æschylus, he admits that the early deities of Greece were not pure, bodiless, atmospheric phenomena. Ares was "an old rusty sword." Demeter had a horse's head, Aphrodite was a squared stone, Artemis (*Ἀρτεμις*?) was a she-bear, and so on. What M. de St. Victor says here (pp. 96, 97) is quite true, but his explanation is less satisfactory. He appears to think that the Aryan ancestors of the Hellenes worshipped "les phénomènes physiques," but that the Pelasgians degraded the pure physical phenomena into the forms of animals and fetish-stones. But it is surely quite as scientific to hold that the far-off ancestors of the Hellenes, like other savages, worshipped a whole menagerie of beasts, the beasts whose images were preserved in the temples of later gods, as their cult was swallowed up in that of Artemis and Apollo. If these beasts, as among other races, were regarded as progenitors of various tribes, we can understand how Zeus or Apollo was fabled to have become, under an animal shape, the wooer of Leda or Europa, the father of the children of the Swan, and of the Bear-tribe of Arcadia. But the system of M. de St. Victor starts from an "Aryan" cult of which we can know nothing, imagines an age of Pelasgian degradation, and then a period of purer intelligence which must have its place in any theory. It is obvious that a study of the evolution of the drama is only clogged by all this possibly mistaken mythological science.

As we are about fault-finding, we may as well end by remarking on certain places where M. de St. Victor, like Æschylus, exhibits in his style "le débordement des images." Here is a fair example of a happy simile. Bacchus, the latest evolved of the gods of Greece, "est le dernier venu dans la grande famille de l'Olympe. Il y arrive en retard comme un prince aviné qui se fait attendre au banquet royal où il est convié." Again, about Adonis (whose worship is described with wonderful force), M. de St. Victor says:—"Adonis entra de bonne heure dans l'Hellade; le génie du lieu orna et embellit sa légende. Ce fut comme si Praxitèle avait retouché de son ciseau et ramené au type grec une bizarre idole orientale." Here is his description of the first actor who interrupted the Chorus:—"Un jour, aux Lénées, un

homme inconnu . . . élu mystérieux de Melpomène, pris aux cheveux par elle, comme Achille le fut par Pallas, Habacuc par l'Ange, s'élance sur la table du sacrifice, converse avec le Chœur, lui parle, lui répond." What in the world have "Habacuc" and Achilles to do in this *galère*? We say it with regret, but this *genre* of eloquence seems inflated and Asiatic. Once more, when the eagle took the bald head of Æschylus for a stone and let the tortoise fall on it, M. de St. Victor says that the bird made no mistake—"C'est dans l'âge de pierre qu'il faudrait ranger le génie d'Eschyle." Now such criticism as this is quite wild; there is no resemblance of any sort between the work of Æschylus and palæolithic art. Even if there were, the eagle had no sound excuse for its unlucky blunder. But this is a trifle compared with M. de St. Victor's statement that "Eschyle avait un théâtre tué sous lui." Mr. Myer's recent essay on Æschylus in *Hellenica*, and on the serenity of his genius behind the storms of the stage, is a corrective of this "débordement des images." But we have dwelt sufficiently on the faults of the brilliant *feuilletoniste*, which have escaped from the *causerie* into the book. We hope to return to M. de St. Victor's literary criticism of the characters, the conduct, and the situations of the dramas of Æschylus.

A CAVALIER'S NOTE-BOOK.*

IF, by way of analogy to the origin which has been actually assumed for part of the history of ancient Rome, that of England in the age of the Puritan Revolution and the Restoration had to be put together out of family records, a serious conflict of statements as well as of opinions would occasion some difficulty in selecting the materials of the narrative. And perhaps the greatest amount of suspicion would attach to those which had the best excuse for one-sidedness, as in the case of notes or writings of the Roman Catholic gentry, to whom each turn in public events must have seemed to signify nothing but a change of sufferings. On the sacrifices of the Civil War followed the sequestrations under the Commonwealth; after which the reign of a crypto-catholic King gave birth to the deadly panic of the Popish plot; nor could the delusiveness of the hopes excited by the plain dealing of his malarious successor fail speedily to become patent even to those who might serve him without scruple and ask favours of him without shame. But the value of such historical records as those now before us is unimpaired by a partisanship of which they make no secret whatever. In no part of England, as is well known, was there a sturdier growth of Recusancy to be found than in Lancashire, then, as in later days, strangely, though by no means inexplicably, divided in its political and religious opinions. And among the old Roman Catholic families of that county, which partly survive to this day—objects of interest and pride to many in the county besides their fellow-religionists—none has more manfully adhered to its religious faith than the Blundells. On both these heads abundant evidence is furnished by the literary remains of the high-minded "Cavalier" who, during the long and troubled period between the years 1638 and 1698, was the head of the House of the Blundells of Little Crosby, and whose descendant (in the female line) appears to this day to be able to say of his village what his ancestor said to King James II. of his township, "that there is neither beggar, alehouse, nor Protestant within it." The Blundells of Little Crosby, which is five miles from Liverpool, are to be distinguished from their neighbours the Blundells of Ince Blundell, with whom they are only on a single occasion known to have intermarried, though community of creed and mutual goodwill have existed between the two lines for nearly seven centuries.

Among the notes in the collection now before us, edited with an interesting though rather prolix introduction by Father T. Ellison Gibson, is "a list of the names of Popish Recusants of the greatest quality in the county of Lancashire" whom, at the time of the Exclusion Bill agitation of 1680, it was proposed to banish from the kingdom together with the rest of the leading Roman Catholics in it. Among these it may safely be said that there is none more honourably typical than that of William Blundell of Crosby. We cannot help regretting that his descendant should not have in the first instance given to the world the *letters* which remain from William Blundell's hand, and have reserved the selection of *notes* from his commonplace books, which necessarily vary very much in interest, though the writer was a man of literary tastes as well as a shrewd practical observer. But, at all events, these commentaries on the bad times and things in general give flesh and blood to the sketch of their author offered by his editor, and also sufficiently illustrate and corroborate the account of the sufferings of William Blundell and his family to be found in a petition which he prepared for presentation to King James. Owing, no doubt, to the speedy alteration of the hopeful mood which had suggested it, this petition was never actually presented; but we cannot perhaps better recall in outline the experiences of the brave and loyal gentleman to whom Mr. Gibson has introduced us than by expanding with his aid some of the statements in this neither lengthy nor undignified supplication.

The King, then, is first of all reminded of the fact that no son or daughter of the line represented by the petitioner has ever been known to profess any other than the Roman Catholic religion, and

* *Crosby Recor. is.*—A Cavalier's Note-Book: being Notes, Anecdotes, and Observations of William Blundell, of Crosby, Lancashire, Esquire. Edited, with Introductory Chapters, by T. Ellison Gibson. London: Longmans & Co. 1880.

that accordingly "since y^e pretended Reformation, it hath suffered persecution for the same in an extraordinary degree." William Blundell refers to the many imprisonments undergone by members of his family under the Recusancy statutes of Elizabeth, when (unlike the Traffords) the Blundells were among the persecuted, and not among the persecutors. Two-thirds of his ancestor's lands had at that time, in accordance with the evil alternative offered to Recusants, been in the hands of the Crown; nor had they been recovered till the brief period of respite on the accession of James I., from which event so many Catholics vainly hoped for the advent of better days. But, as we learn from Mr. Gibson's Introduction, after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot these lands had again been seized, having been "begged" by courtiers from a king who was ever most facile where he should have shown least favour. The shifting policy of James I. afterwards allowed some relaxation in the treatment of his Roman Catholic subjects, as is incidentally shown by the circumstance that the then Mr. Blundell of Crosby could establish in his own grounds a burial-place for members of his own faith. But early in Charles I.'s reign this was pulled down, and the owner, together with some of his tenants who had resisted the sheriff's officers when levying a Recusancy fine, was imprisoned and mulcted in money by the Star Chamber—whose tender mercies were by no means confined to Puritan recalcitrance. William Blundell, however, prefers to appeal to the sufferings and services of himself and his more immediate belongings. Among his hundred kinsmen or kinswomen who had at one time or another entered the priesthood of the Church of Rome or taken religious vows in it, he could number not less than seven children of his own. It elsewhere appears that in the three generations in the midst of which William Blundell stood, seventeen Blundells, male and female, devoted themselves to a religious life. In stating this fact, which may at first sight seem surprising in times when danger if not death waited upon such devotion, Mr. Gibson takes occasion to dwell on the blindness towards its own interests exhibited by the Protestant legislature in excluding the sons of Roman Catholic gentlemen from all suitable secular employment. The Church of Rome could thus command the services of the only class of persons among its members who had the means and opportunity of becoming priests; while the Recusant gentry obtained chaplains congenial to themselves by their birth and breeding. The proscribed Order of Jesus in particular, which in William Blundell's time is stated by him to have possessed five colleges in England, and which in the year 1601 was supposed to number as many as 109 members in this country, and altogether 280 members of English birth, attracted many gentlemen into its ranks, though for obvious reasons they frequently were known under assumed names only.

Had not (continues William Blundell) so many male scions of his family been in orders, more of them would have been found under arms on the King's side—for, of course, "there were none at all that fought on y^e Rebels' side." But even so, "there has been very many" who fought for the King—as indeed it is well known that few Catholic families showed any slackness in this respect. Indeed, in a treatise on the Penal Laws, published by William Blundell himself, and cited by Mr. Gibson, it was asserted that "whereas the Catholic gentry of the Kingdom were computed before the wars at one-fifteenth of the whole, no less than one-third or one-fourth of the officers of the King's army were Catholics." And yet, as we learn from one of the Clarendon MSS., when the King set up his standard at Nottingham, he had inhibited all Recusants from resorting to his army. William Blundell's own services as a soldier were brilliant, though brief. Towards the end of the evil year 1642 he had accepted a captain's commission, "for the defence," among other things, "of the Protestant religion," under the gallant Sir Thomas Tildesley, who, after his long-sustained devotion to the Royal cause, was destined to fall in Lord Derby's unfortunate affair at Wigan in 1651. Lord Derby (then still Lord Strange) had, as readers of Clarendon will remember, allowed the wish to be father to the thought when calculating on a fuller support in Lancashire for the King's cause than it actually received there; the commissions granted by those acting in conjunction with him in this and in the neighbouring county were the less likely to be interfered with. William Blundell, though then but two-and-twenty years of age, was already an old married man. He had received his early training in all probability at "one of the secret places of education" in England, "well-known to those who adhered to the ancient faith"—about which we should have been interested to learn more from Mr. Gibson than he finds space to tell us, more especially as that in which William Blundell was brought up seems to have helped to implant in him a genuine love of learning. Then, he had married when fifteen years old, in order that, his father having died, his grandfather might make a fresh settlement of the family estates and thus avert from them the peril to which they were liable under the Recusancy Acts. But he now readily took service at the head of a company of dragoons raised by himself, doubtless from among his tenants, and bore a conspicuous share in the successful assault upon Lancaster. The wound, however, which he on this occasion received put an end to his military career, and made him a cripple for life—he was afterwards called Halt-Will by his facetious Lancashire neighbours. Although the resistance which he continued to offer to the adversaries of the Royal cause was by no means only of a passive kind, he had henceforth to assert it, and to suffer for it, in a corner. He was "4 times taken prisoner and p^d his ransom twice"; while his estates were sequestered for a period of something like ten years

—one-fifth being allowed to his wife, and the demesne immediately around his house being farmed by himself. Then, in the year 1653, he was allowed to compound for the repurchase of his lands with his own money, or rather with what he had scraped together for the purpose. But he preferred to spend the years 1658–1660 on the Continent, whence he had the happiness of returning on board the *Royal Charles*, lately the *Naseby*, in company with the King himself. It was here that, as William Blundell mentions in his Note Book, King Charles took occasion to measure his height against the lintel of the cabin, and to justify by anticipation the assertion of a famous epigram that he was "of a tall stature." The loyal Cavalier avers that though sundry tall persons "went under the King's mark, none could reach it"; but he rather seems to imply that it might have been reached by "an Irish stripling under 17 years of age," whom he saw on a subsequent occasion, and who, he thinks, measured "7 ft. 2½ in. in his shoes, which were not high. He was languid and listless, and not comely, although he was straight." There were, however, other giants in those days, the Hollander, for instance, whom Mr. Blundell saw for 6d. in the Strand.

"The persecution occasioned by the late plot"—the Popish Plot to wit—of which His Majesty would be likely enough to retain a remembrance, is pointedly referred to in the petition to King James. From a letter written by William Blundell in 1673, and cited by Mr. Gibson in his Introduction, it is clear how the hopes of the Catholics had already been turned into misgivings, the expression of which is here accompanied by reflections which are not the less bitter for the self-restraint observed in them. After speaking of a villainous book of Prynne's advocating the principle of Resistance, and of the apologies offered for the beheading of King Charles "by Milton and others," he continues in words which deserve citing in full:—

Yet Milton and those are pardoned and live in security. Prynne, as is very well known, was an eminent Parliament man, a mortal foe to the Papists, and was cherished with a very fair salary and with singular places of trust since the King came in. I think we do not seek for preferment. For my own part, I am sure I only plead "pro domo mea," for the same house and lands which I lost for my duty to the King, to a pack of those arch villains, and purchased it from them again after nine or ten years' sequestration, with money which I borrowed. My limbs, my goods, my liberty, I lost on the same account. Many others of ours lost life and all. And ours and our greatest enemies' principles are still the same. If we must therefore beg or hang, I pray God bless the King, and the will of God be done. My dearest sir, I wish as much as you that we were together one day before we suffer.

The gloomy forebodings implied by this last phrase are in some measure explained by the fact that this letter was written just about the time when King Charles, after withdrawing his unlucky Declaration of Indulgence, gave his assent to the Test Act, which was its direct consequence. Before long, the old Recusancy penalties were being enacted again; and when the Popish Plot agitation broke out, Mr. Blundell's Catholic tenants, and, by implication, their landlord, were impoverished by the exaction of the monthly fine of 20l. Before this, the loyal Cavalier had been troubled to see his "trusty old sword" taken from him ("w^h had been my companion w^h I lost my limbs, my lands, my liberty, for acting against the rebels in the King's behalf) by an officer appointed for y^e purpose, who in that former old war had been a captain against y^e King." But amidst indignities and injuries he stood firm; and when, on his application to Government for a pass to go abroad, he was called upon previously to enter into his recognisances not to return without a licence, he refused, on any consideration, to "lead the life of an outlaw." He ultimately obtained an unconditional licence, and resided in France for some months.

The petition, as we have seen, was never presented, and, after the brief respite of King James II.'s reign, the sorely-tried Cavalier's trials began again. He was imprisoned at Manchester in the pleasant company of Mr. Towneley of Towneley, the head of the famous Roman Catholic family which died out only the other day; and after his release he spent the remainder of his life at home at Little Crosby—prohibited by the Act from moving beyond the length of his "five miles' chain." Four years before his death, which occurred in 1698, three king's messengers had arrived there to carry him off on the charge of participation in that "Lancashire plot" which the same miscreant invented and exploded. They respected the grey hairs of the worthy old man, however, and contented themselves with carrying off his son, together with some of the contents of his gun-room and stables.

We have reproduced the main events in the life of the Cavalier, and have thus left ourselves no space for describing at any length the contents of his Note-Book. It is, however, not only full of details interesting in themselves with regard to the manners and notions of an age which diaries and drama together have made so vivid to us that we can never read enough about it. Here once more we are reminded of its drinking and dicing, and, above all, of its duelling—against which William Blundell wages war like a gallant gentleman who could well afford to do so—as well as of features which are less distinctive of it as compared with other periods. Among these we do not know whether to include the commercial dishonesty of the age, on which Mr. Blundell might be thought to be unduly severe, after the manner of country gentlemen, were it not that in his opinion English traders compared unfavourably with the Dutch, for whom he could have no special liking. In spending money, on the other hand, he has evidence to show that Lancashire folk are ahead of the rest of England. As, for instance, "a man who showed a

dromedary in most parts of England told me (1662) that he found more profit thereby in Lancashire than in any other county." A considerable variety of other curious information appears in the Cavalier's notes, which are learnedly margined with Latin headings, together with some entertaining, if not always deeply instructive, observations *de Anglice scribendi or loquendi modo*; and even a good story or two, which we regret not to have room to quote. But the chief value of the Note-Book is, after all, that it completes the picture of as true a gentleman as has ever unconsciously sat for his portrait to himself. Of the sturdy adherence of William Blundell to the faith of his fathers we have given sufficient proof; nor is it very surprising to find in a man of his times and training a considerable amount of superstitiousness of a general kind, and a firm belief in God's *judicia in Catholicorum hostes*. But such men as he are no mere puppets in the hands of others. Not only does he (in a letter of the year 1679) declare that "as for invasions, it hath ever been my professed principle, that all, even Catholic subjects of a lawful Protestant King (such as King Charles y^e 2^d.) are obliged faithfully to adhere to that King in all invasions whatsoever, though made by Catholic princes or even by the Pope himself." Not only was his head full of plans of social reforms which in their variety almost recall the busy philanthropy of Defoe, and which bespeak an independent as well as a benevolent mind. Active in nearly every direction open to him, an energetic farmer and a successful author, he must at the same time have had that true politeness of which he seems so thoroughly to appreciate the worth, and which goes to, because it comes from, the heart. One of his favourite rules in thinking and speaking of others seems to have been *judge not*—a precept which not all that are persecuted as he was find it easy to obey. We sincerely trust that *A Cavalier's Note-Book* will find many readers equally desirous with ourselves of making acquaintance with the half-promised *Letter Book* from the same hand.

MISS BOUVERIE.*

WE felt well disposed towards this novel as soon as we had glanced at the title-page and begun to cut the leaves. In the first place, we saw that it was written by Mrs. Molesworth; and Mrs. Molesworth, we knew, always writes pleasantly. In the second place, though there are three volumes, each volume has not very many pages. In the third place, the type is large and the lines have been kept well apart. It was a book, we saw, that we could read easily and rapidly. In this respect it differed greatly from many of the stories that have lately come under our notice. A novel—at least the novel of one of the minor writers—should, we hold, never be so long, but that it can be read with ease on a summer afternoon or a winter evening. We do not want to take the plot either to dinner or to bed with us. It is like a bottle of light wine—it should be finished at a sitting. Now *Miss Bouverie* is lively enough to keep the reader's attention fixed, and it is short enough to allow him to read the closing chapter before he has had time to forget the opening scenes. There is no call made at any time upon his understanding. There are no family trees which he must carefully study, and no complications to worry him by the demand they make on his memory and his sagacity. There is, indeed, an eccentric will, or rather a settlement; but something of the kind must of course be allowed to every author. Wills and settlements are almost as needful to novelists as are mulberry-leaves to silkworms. Deprived of them, they would find it a nearly hopeless task to attempt to spin a plot. With a liberal supply of villains, no doubt a story may be written without the help of any legal complications; but then in villains Mrs. Molesworth's strong point does not seem to lie. She is apparently happily aware of her own deficiencies; and, knowing very little of villainy, she is wise enough and moderate enough not to introduce it in her stories. Her worst character in the book before us is a young French lady—heartless enough, no doubt—who nearly scares the poor heroine out of her wits by coming upon her at nighttime in the disguise of a family ghost. Nevertheless, in spite of the absence of the wickedness with which so many of our writers now fill their stories, these three volumes are never dull. Life, we are forced to admit, can be fairly interesting even when murderers and forgers are wanting; nor does it seem needful, in order to keep the reader from falling asleep over his novel, to bring in a fresh criminal—or, at all events, a fresh crime—with the opening pages of each chapter. But from these somewhat general considerations, into which we have naturally fallen on laying down the last of Mrs. Molesworth's pleasant volumes, it is time to pass to some account of the story itself.

In the opening scene we are introduced to Miss Laura Bouverie, the heroine, when she was a child of eight. Her grandfather, Squire Sydney, had married twice. From his first wife was descended the hero of the story, Hugh Sydney; and from the second, who was a French lady, Laura Bouverie. Hugh's father had resented the second marriage, and had behaved to his foreign stepmother with the greatest rudeness. The old squire, in a passion, "had completely disinherited him," leaving all his property to his only daughter, Laura's mother. No one of his family knew what he had done till he was on his deathbed. Then, when there was no possibility of undoing it, he began to repent. He sent for

his son-in-law, Mr. Bouverie, who had been left a widower with one daughter, and told him of the settlement that he had made. "It," he said, "was irrevocable—unalterable, at least, for many years to come." All he could do was to beg him to surrender one half of his income to his son's widow and child. But Mr. Bouverie met with an unexpected obstacle in carrying out the dying man's wishes. The disinherited descendant obstinately refused to be reconciled with his dead grandfather. He would not take back any part of the property. Would he have condescended to receive it, he might have had even the old family mansion; but he persisted, instead, on entering the army and going to India. Here he and the heroine part—he a dashing young subaltern, and she a pretty little girl of eight years old. The curtain at once falls upon the scene, and is not lifted till twelve years have gone by. She then is old enough—a year or so too old some perchance will say—to be a heroine, while the proper time has arrived for him to return home on his leave of absence. In her eyes he has always remained the hero that she held him to be when she was a little girl, while he, on his part, had never forgotten his little cousin. Unhappily he had brought with him from India all the pride that he had taken there, and his pride was at once awakened by a scheming, match-making aunt. The cousins were to meet for the first time at a dance. Laura was all eagerness for the meeting to which she had so long been looking forward, but she was at once chilled by his cold greeting. He had learnt that all the family expected that he would marry her, and so recover the estate of which his father had been deprived. He had been led to believe, moreover, that she was a party to this family scheme. The misunderstandings into which the cousins fall are cleverly described. Both were proud, and both, moreover, somewhat too suspicious. The chances of their ever being reconciled, much more of their ever being married, seemed remote indeed:—

"I shall never like him again," she said to herself, "*never*. I know I am not vindictive or easily offended, but once a person has behaved as he did—considering all the circumstances—it shows a hard, selfish, unsympathetic nature, and such a nature one *could* not like. How can he have changed so utterly? To think that I once put my silly little arms round his neck, and cried, and would not let him go—and how tender he was! There were tears in his own eyes. He could not bear to see anything suffer. I remember when one of my doves hurt its leg. And all these years I see now that he has been a sort of unconscious hero to me—the personification of manliness and goodness, and everything nice. What can have changed him so? Even if it were to turn out just a fit of bad temper, with which I had nothing to do, I should not like him. I don't mind some kinds of bad temper, but I hate a kind that makes one hard and indifferent to others' feelings—"

"But no," she decided, after further reflection, "it couldn't have been merely bad temper. It was a *parti pris*, for fear of my presuming on our relationship to be too friendly." Laura's cheeks glowed at the thought. "I suppose he is so accustomed to be adored. Oh! I do so hope he didn't see me hold out my hands—how could I have been such an idiot? No, no, I can never forget it—I can never like him—he has hurt and mortified me too much. But I *won't* think of him."

We are so accustomed to find, whenever a young lady announces her intention of never liking a young gentleman, that she is within a few days of accepting him, and a few weeks of marrying him, that we were not in the least discomposed by Miss Laura's soliloquy. But our confidence did begin to get shaken as the story went on, and no reconciliation came. Half way through the first volume she again repeats, and repeats emphatically, that she will *never*—with a dash under it—modify her opinions. Some forty pages further on, when talking to herself, as she was very much given to do for want of a confidant, she exclaimed, "Ah! if there is one person in the world I do honestly dislike, it is you, my dear cousin, Hugh Sydney!" At the close of this volume she says that she cannot imagine herself ever liking Major Sydney. We are only as yet in the first volume, and many a pair of lovers have by that time got quite as far apart. But matters do not improve. She begins the second volume by announcing that she is never going to marry, and that she intends to grow from a young woman into an old maid. Well, that is what, according to our literary experience, most young ladies say at some period or other of their life; but it is scarcely a sentiment that outlives the first volume. Laura, however, goes on from bad to worse. In page 71 of this second volume, again in a soliloquy, she exclaims passionately, "Hugh Sydney, I detest you. I hate and detest you." In page 75 she speaks of him as "that horrid Hugh who has spoilt all the pleasures of the visit." In page 157 her full assurance returns of the old maidenhood that awaits her. "To-day," she says, "has taught me that more surely than ever, I shall never marry; I am different from other girls." We reach the close of the second volume, only to find that the third begins with the same atrocious sentiments. But towards the middle of the third—not a moment too soon, the experienced reader will allow—she shows some slight signs of softening. "'I really do feel as if I *hated* him sometimes,' she said to herself. . . . 'I won't mind him—no, I *won't*!'" Still nearer the end than this, she turns towards the Major, "with an actual smile of satirical amusement on her face," which was, he felt, worse than "her hottest, most contemptuous, indignation," while a moment after "she turned away from him with the haughtiest coldness." Less than forty pages from the end "she hardened her heart against him," while he had announced his intention of starting at once for India. Things did certainly look a little brighter in the next paragraph, when the tears rose unbidden to her eyes; but with less than forty pages—pages, too, with the lines printed well apart, with so proud and obstinate a hero and heroine, and with such sad misunderstandings between them—what can we expect even the most skilful

* *Miss Bouverie*. By Mrs. Molesworth, Author of "Hathercourt Rectory," "The Cuckoo Clock," "The Tapestry Room," &c. 3 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1880.

writer to do? But matters are worse even than this. The author has a second pair of lovers on her hands, who also have complications of their own so great that they would seem to us to need half-a-dozen chapters to themselves before they could get them thoroughly disentangled. She has also on her hands the spiteful young French lady and a family ghost, not to mention an elderly uncle, a baronet moreover, who is ill of the smallpox. How the story is brought to an end, whether there is still a Miss Bouverie, an old maid by this time, and whether Major Sydney again served his country in India, or whether a means has been at length found to carry through the wishes of the penitent old Squire, we must leave our readers to discover for themselves by turning to the concluding chapter of Mrs. Molesworth's pleasant story.

By no means the least interesting and clever character in the book is one on whom we have not even touched—Laura's French cousin, M. De La Croye. By the way, Mrs. Molesworth seems to us to have taken so strong a prejudice against the nation to which he belonged that, when she wants to introduce a really good Frenchman, she is forced to give him a German mother. We could wish she had carried her prejudices one step further, and, when she was giving us conversation that was spoken in French, had always turned it into undoubted English. "What have you, M. le Major?" in the sense in which it is meant, is but a poor piece of mongrel writing. We must object also to one or two of the expressions which she puts into the mouths of English people of forty years ago. At that time we doubt whether even school-boys talked of "lots of children" and "lots of houses." Most certainly young ladies did not. A fine day was not called "perfect weather," nor did a country parson ever "feel intuitively." Neither would he have discovered in a young Frenchman "something intangible and impalpable which prevented him putting him down." We doubt even whether "palely glowing colza" as yet was known. In those days long words, no doubt, were used; but a sentence usually ended as finely as it began. A paragraph that opened with "annoying contradictoriness," and went on to "disagreeable consciousness," would not have been wound up "with a wet blanket" and "a shore in the right direction." But faults such as these are not very common in Mrs. Molesworth's pages, and we must not therefore part with her in a too critical mood. On the contrary, our last words must be our thanks for the pleasant and innocent story with which she has beguiled a few hours of our time.

HOLLAND'S ELEMENTS OF JURISPRUDENCE.*

(Second Notice.)

IN a former article on this book we expressed our doubts as to the claim of Jurisprudence to exist as an abstract science beside and apart from the study of particular legal systems; at the same time we admitted that the treatment of it as such may in the present state of English legal education and literature be provisionally justified. We have now to see how Professor Holland handles the subject which he has defined as the formal science of law. His exposition, we may say at once, is clear and careful throughout, and the work will for law students' purposes be a great improvement on Austin. Though considerably less bulky, it is more complete, more symmetrical, and more intelligible. As literature it is almost incomparably better. Austin's painfully laboured style has an effect amounting to repulsion on some persons, of whom we confess ourselves to be. Professor Holland's is concise without abruptness, flowing without tediousness, and distinct without wearisome repetitions.

The subjects discussed at the outset are naturally the definition of law and the theory of sovereignty. The two chapters on the various usages of the word *law* might perhaps bear to be yet further shortened; we doubt whether their subject is properly within the scope of jurisprudence. Professor Holland's definition of law runs thus:—"A general rule of external human action enforced by a sovereign political authority"—or, should we say, purporting to be enforced? for not every sovereign can make sure of enforcing his commands; and sometimes laws are made without even any great intention of enforcing them. We do not see why this should not come at the very beginning, with the statement that only such laws as answer this description are the subject of legal science. However, the opening chapters as they stand form a good introduction to the modern terminology. Proceeding to the theory of sovereignty, Professor Holland confesses and avoids Sir Henry Maine's criticism of the extreme analytical doctrine, and sums up his own result in these words:—"It is convenient to recognize as laws only such rules as are enforced by a sovereign political authority, although there are states of society in which it is difficult to ascertain as a fact what rules answer to this description." But the qualification seems to us not quite adequate; in the states of society specified by Sir Henry Maine, and to this day prevailing over a large part of the earth, the difficulty is not merely to ascertain what rules of conduct are true laws, but to find any person or body answering the description of a sovereign political authority in the sense required by the analytical school. The half-dozen pages on customary law strike us as particularly good. Professor Holland brings out and harmonizes the elements of truth in the opposed views of the English analytical and

the German historical jurists. Austin's contention that customary law "is nothing but judiciary law founded on an anterior custom" is disallowed as being repugnant to the facts. The Courts decide whether an alleged custom is or is not binding, not at their pleasure, but according to settled rules. The conditions on which the validity of a custom depends must be present, if they are present, before the case occurs for decision; just as the text of an Act of Parliament has the force of law when the Act is passed, though it may afterwards call for judicial interpretation. In this case the retrospective application of the construction arrived at by the Court is obviously necessary; and what takes place when a custom is allowed is essentially the same. Indeed similar considerations might be shown to apply largely, though not universally, to the declaration of rules of common law; so that in this sense, though not in the sense intended by Austin, his dictum above cited may be accepted.

In the chapter on Rights a series of definitions is carefully and elegantly worked out; the distinction between might, moral right (as sanctioned by existing positive morality), and legal right, is exceedingly well put, and ought to nip in the bud a good many fine flowers of confused thinking. The only point on which a little more explanation might be useful is the difference between positive morality and ideal morality, which is not expressly noticed. Legal right is defined as a capacity residing in one man (we should rather say "person," as man does not include artificial persons) of controlling, with the assent and assistance of the State, the actions of others. In popular usage we speak elliptically of a man having a right to use his property as he likes, and so forth; whereas his right is, accurately speaking, to prevent other people from interfering with his use. This does not, in our opinion, affect the correctness of the definition. With regard to persons as subjects of rights and duties ("Träger der Rechtsverhältnisse," as the Germans more neatly have it), Professor Holland has invented two new terms; he calls the person entitled "the person of inheritance," and the person bound "the person of incidence." We doubt if these are necessary, but they are at least innocent. In his general classification of the subject-matter of positive law Professor Holland takes rights in preference to duties as the starting-point. This arrangement is perhaps the more easily understood at first sight, but we are disposed to regret the choice. It is impossible to arrange a body of law under a scheme of rights without some dislocation or repetition. After going through the categories of substantive rights, you have to start afresh with a catalogue of wrongs, consisting to a great extent in the breach of duties corresponding to the rights which have already been set forth. Another objection is that all rights have corresponding duties, while some duties (Austin's "absolute duties") have no corresponding rights, and therefore a classification founded on rights is by the nature of the case incomplete. But this is not admitted by Professor Holland, who maintains that the State's being the fountain of legal right does not prevent the State from having rights as well as any other artificial person, or even from having duties "such as it prescribes to itself," in so far as it submits to the jurisdiction and the decisions of its own Courts. This, we think, is just; yet there are various duties of a more or less public kind as to which it is not easy to say where the corresponding rights are, and cases are frequent in practice where there is no doubt as to the person bound, but the person entitled can be ascertained only after a fixed or precarious lapse of time, or by judicial decision between adverse claims. It is true that the devolution of duties (e.g. those attached to trust estates) is also at times difficult to trace.

It is satisfactory to find that Professor Holland retains the ancient and fundamental division of Private and Public Law, and disapproves rather summarily of Austin's curious aberration on this point. Few as English attempts at legal classification have been, we have already had far too much of straining after novelty for novelty's sake. One or two late writers, whose ambition is apparently to be the Blackstones of our time, have made their work all but worthless by deliberate confusion of the familiar boundaries. With regard to the troublesome question of the law of status and its due place in a system, Professor Holland starts from the citizen of full age and capacity as having "normal rights." Differences in status consist in departures or degradations from this normal capacity, which are attached to particular personal conditions, such as infancy or coverture. The rights and duties which arise from the relations of normal citizens to one another come naturally to be considered in the first place; then we consider them as they may be affected by the abnormal condition of one or both parties. "The inquiry into the law of Persons is thus supplementary and secondary to that into the residue of the law, commonly called the law of Things." To this it may be added that the law of Persons is more subject to historical and local variations, and more difficult to refer to any generally accepted principles. Take, for instance, the rules on such a topic as the contract of sale, as we find them in the *Corpus Juris*, and as they now exist in any State of the civilized world, and then make the like comparison as to marriage and its legal incidents and consequences. In the first case the differences will be appreciable; but—whether as between the Roman and any particular modern system, or as between the laws of different modern States—they will be trifling as compared with those which strike us in the second. At the same time the importance of the law of Persons as compared with the law of Things is ever on the wane in modern systems. In Hindu law the family and caste are everything, and equal rights of equal individuals are next to nothing.

* *The Elements of Jurisprudence*. By Thomas Erskine Holland, D.C.L., &c. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1880.

In the world of modern law, caste and slavery, the great ancient heads of personal inequality, have disappeared, and the law of Persons is but a fraction of the whole body. These are additional reasons for putting the law of Things, with Professor Holland, before the law of Persons; and yet we confess to a certain lingering prejudice in favour of the Roman arrangement. As to the nomenclature, there is a little awkwardness in using the term "abnormal" for a condition such as infancy, through which every natural person has to pass, or the existence of a corporation, which is not only familiar in every civilized country, but is really an extension of the power of the individuals composing it. But it is etymologically appropriate (see Professor Holland's declension-diagram on the model of the old grammars at p. 225), and nothing better has yet been proposed.

Professor Holland speaks of "antecedent" instead of primary or sanctioned, and "remedial" instead of secondary or sanctioning rights. It occurs to us that "substantive" and "adjective" might do as well, and mark more distinctly the relation of rights to procedure. We have already "substantive law" and "adjective law," the latter being the law of procedure. Now remedial rights are the rights with which the law of procedure is concerned. Primary or antecedent rights are enforced only through the medium of these, as there can be no proceeding except by some one who has a right to proceed. Why not, then, use the term "adjective rights" for the rights which are worked out by adjective law? Moreover the term "remedial" is not always appropriate; there are proceedings, such as interpleader and payment of money into Court by a trustee, where the first step is taken by a party who seeks to be relieved, not against some one else's breach of duty, but against the risk of unwilling breach of duty on his own part. That in so doing he exercises a right is clear; but it can hardly be called either sanctioning or remedial.

We need not follow Professor Holland minutely through the various topics of Private Law. On the law of ownership it is neither easy nor desirable to say anything very new, though, in mentioning what things cannot be property, Professor Holland makes the rather sweeping statement that "air and water are obviously for the free use of all mankind." As regards water there is obviously a great deal, such as ponds in private grounds, which is not for the free use of mankind in any sense, and still more, such as portions of rivers subject to rights of lower riparian owners, of which the use is not free in the sense of being unlimited. However, it is true that water running or standing in its natural state cannot be stolen; and Blackstone even speaks of "the elements of light, air, and water," as things which "must of necessity continue common by the law of nature." Under the head of rights in *personam*, Professor Holland makes a chapter of rights *ex lege*; we should prefer to say rights appendant or rights annexed by law, as *ex lege* in this sense is hardly good Latin. This term comprises the rights of husband and wife (because, though the existence of the state of marriage depends on the will of the parties, its incidents do not), with other family relations; trusts; the quasi-contracts of the civil law, the fictitious contracts of English law which were the subject of the old "common counts," and some other relations of a like sort arising from circumstances independent of contract. We do not find any notice of the analogous rights in *rem* which belong to the head of quasi-delicts in Roman law, and with us have been established by the class of decisions laying down the measure of an owner's liability for the safe keeping of dangerous things. Before entering on contracts proper, Professor Holland remarks in effect that the action in "tort founded on contract" of English law is from the scientific point of view anomalous, which is true; nevertheless the action in tort is, as matter of history, much the older; and it must be remembered that down to the Common Law Procedure Act the commonest form of action on contracts was a modified action on the case. There must have been a widely spread notion that even when the contract was not enforceable as such, say for want of formality, it created a kind of special duty of which a wilful or negligent breach would be actionable.

In the chapter on Remedial Rights it is said that, "so long as all goes well the action of the law is dormant"; we think it should have been added that so far as things do go well it is in some measure due to general knowledge that the law, if broken, will be enforced, and that thus the law is really most operative when least conspicuous. International law is happily described as "the vanishing point of Jurisprudence"; and here we leave Professor Holland on the verge of the ground specially assigned to him by his office, on which, however, the plan of his work forbids him now to enter at any length.

RAILWAY ROMANCES.*

THE sentimental argument against railways—that they spoil the picturesqueness which belonged to "the country," whether here, on the Continent, or across wider seas than divide us from other European lands—has been frequently employed, and has no doubt something to back it. It is true that the vast power and speed of an express train as it dashes through a station, or the long curling line of smoke left by an engine to mark its track across a distant landscape, have in them something which must seem in different ways striking; but the fact remains

that wherever machinery comes in, primitive beauty must give place, and that many quiet and pretty places have been rendered hideous and noisy by the increase of railway enterprise. Yet the "resonant steam-eagles" are not without their own romantic attractions. They have given many newspaper correspondents the opportunity of writing fresh and picturesque "copy"; they have inspired Mr. Alexander Anderson, "surface-man," to write some very vigorous and telling verses; they have afforded countless catastrophes to novelists, good and bad, in many languages; and, lastly, they have provided M. Camille Debans with an occasion for a somewhat new and decidedly successful literary venture. The volume called *Les Dramas à Toute Vapeur* does not deal entirely with railway life—indeed two striking stories contained in it have nothing to do with steam-power—but the greater number of the tales collected in the book are directly concerned with railways, and seem to warrant the heading prefixed to this article.

M. Debans attracts one first as the *romancier* of the railway, secondly as a very skilful and forcible manipulator of the French language. His description in "L'Ile de l'En" of unknown portents in an unknown country is not unworthy of the master under whose influence it seems to have been conceived; but, before we get to this, our attention is arrested by the simple pathos of the pointsman's story ("L'Aiguilleur") and the "nouveau frisson" suggested by "Sombreker." The motive of the pointsman's story has been used before; but there is real freshness in M. Debans's treatment both of the horrible wavering in the old soldier's mind between paternal love and discipline, allied with a sense of duty to a mass of fellow-beings, and of the final event which rewards virtue. "Sombreker" is a new study, and, as we have hinted, suggests a new horror. The principal personage who gives his name to the story is an engine-driver, son of an old fisherman of dauntless courage, which he has inherited along with some, other strange characteristics. When Sombreker was a boy, he was out with his father in the fishing-boat that was the resource of the family, and a violent wind obliged them to run out to sea rather than seek a dangerous return to the shore. While his father strained every nerve to combat the storm, "il vit son fils, debout sur la frêle embarcation qui craquait, regarder insolemment le ciel et la mer dans un défi. Il semblait savourer l'orage. Le vieux Sombreker se ressouvint alors que son fils avait été conçu pendant une nuit où le vent et le tonnerre faisaient fureur. 'Il sera le roi de la mer si je deviens assez vieux pour en faire un capitaine,' pensait souvent le pêcheur." The old fisher however did not live to see this dream realized, and Léger Sombreker, when he grew up, became an engine-driver on the Lyons railway. He married, and had one son, to whom he was devoted. "Voir grandir son fils, vieillir avec sa femme et dévorer l'espace sur sa *Durance*—c'était le nom de sa machine—voilà toute sa vie." He was respected both by his mates and by his superiors for his skill and his excellent conduct, and this respect was increased by a daring act of gallantry which he performed one day. A child was seen standing straight in the path of the advancing train, and paid no attention to the shouts of Léger and his stoker. Léger made his way to the front of the engine, "s'accroupit, emboîta son pied derrière l'une de ces énormes lanternes qui sont comme les yeux du monstre, et se laissa aller ainsi, suspendu la tête en bas." The stoker cried to him, "You are mad, you will kill yourself"; but he paid no attention to anything but the figure of the child, which to him, in his strange attitude, seemed to be advancing towards him with violent rapidity. Suddenly the stoker threw out his arms and closed his eyes. "Un cri retentait aux oreilles du pauvre homme, puis il entendit pleurer l'enfant. Sombreker, se relevant à moitié, s'accrocha d'une main à la lanterne, de l'autre il tenait pressé contre lui le petit être ahuri."

One day the usually impassive Léger was found in the engine-shed giving way to a furious storm of passion because some one had made a great stain of paint on his locomotive. The violence of his rage, and the caressing epithets which he addressed to the *Durance*, made the bystanders suspect that there was something wrong, and the directors were warned of it by several anonymous letters, to which however, knowing Léger's excellent qualities, they paid no attention. Soon after this he ran through Melun and Fontainebleau at full speed without stopping, to the disgust of all the passengers who had taken tickets for those places. Even this was forgiven him, and the chief engineer, who administered a severe reproof to him, failed to see anything strange or alarming in Sombreker's manner. Presently his madness, still unsuspected in spite of his increasing devotion to the *Durance* and neglect of his wife and child, burst out in a terrible way. He started from Paris with his wife and his child, Yvon, in the carriage next to the engine, a circumstance which tended to reassure Chausang the stoker, who since the Melun incident had no great love for travelling with Léger. At Montereau Léger got down to speak to his wife and Yvon, and when the train started again he put on full steam. The passengers said to each other, with the "sourire jaune" which is common in such circumstances, "Nous allons un train d'enfer." As the train neared Sens, Chausang thought it was time to slacken speed. "We are coming to Sens," he observed. "Well?" replied Léger. "We must stop." "Stop!" cried Léger; "we have scarcely begun to move. Stop! Understand this. We shall stop when we have gone round the world." And with these words he increased the pace of the *Durance*, in which for a long time past he had secretly been making certain alterations with a view to getting from her a higher rate

* *Les Dramas à Toute Vapeur*. Par Camille Debans. Paris: Plon et Cie.

of speed. Chaussang appealed and threatened in vain. Léger only replied by laughing in the very frenzy of his delight. They rushed through Sens at lightning speed. By this time alarm had seized on all the passengers, except a newly-married couple in one carriage. "Les amoureux et les fous, c'est tout un. Sombreker et les deux mariés étaient les seuls qui fussent calmes en ce moment." In the other carriages scenes of a harrowing kind took place. The telegraph had been set in motion to clear the way for the mad train, and from every place that it passed messages were sent to the chief office at Paris. At Dijon Chaussang, who at first had been overwhelmed by the vastness of the catastrophe, recovered his presence of mind. He shouted Yvon's name in Léger's ear, but without effect; and he then tried what force would do. As the train flashed through Dijon the crowd of spectators caught a glimpse of two men struggling violently on the engine. The fight was fierce and brief, and Léger won it. When he saw the stoker lying exhausted on the coals he addressed the *Durance* with cries of triumph and encouragement, and breaking the stem of the safety-valve he covered it with an enormous mass of coal. "C'est donc le diable!" grommela Chaussang. "Cette fois c'est bien fini." Then he made his way to the first carriage, and at the risk of his life and of the child's, and in spite of its mother's violent resistance, he carried Yvon back to the engine with him. All that he gained by this was the warm thanks of Léger, by whose side Yvon stood, delighting as much as his father in the furious and ever increasing speed of the train. Then a man in the first carriage took out a gun which he had with him and fired at Léger without hitting him; but, before he could repeat the attempt, Marie, Léger's wife, tore the gun from his hand and flung it out at the window. Meanwhile one of the back carriages caught fire. Certain sounds on the engine told Chaussang that the end was approaching. Water at the same time was wanted for the boiler, and Chaussang knew that, if it was supplied, the final catastrophe would take place at once. With a cord which he had got from a passenger, he tied up the tap of the reservoir, and the time it took Léger to undo the fastenings just sufficed for Chaussang, carrying Yvon in his arms, to unfasten the couplings of the engine:—

La locomotive essouffée ayant elle-même été poussée par le train, le chauffeur avait pu dévisser l'éclai et détacher les chaînes. Il était maintenant debout sur le tampon, cramponné d'une main à son bâton de houx, de l'autre soutenant l'enfant de Sombreker. La locomotive dégagée du poids du train, avait pris un nouvel élan, et filait avec la vélocité d'une balle. Les wagons, par suite de la vitesse acquise, rouleront longtemps encore, mais en abandonnant bientôt cette rapidité vertigineuse. Les serre-freins, qui virent partir la machine en avant, serrèrent les roues avec fureur, et quelques instants après tout le monde était à terre. Un seul homme ne quittait pas sa place. C'était Chaussang. Il regardait la *Durance*, qui était déjà à huit cents mètres. Des ongles et des dents, Léger avait fini par dégager le robinet des cordes qui l'enlaçaient. On entendit comme une décharge d'artillerie. On vit des débris s'élever vers le ciel. La *Durance* avait volé en éclats, et le mécanicien Sombreker venait de sauter avec elle en poussant des cris de victoire.

Having given this brief account of one of M. Debans's striking stories, we do not propose to spoil his readers' pleasure by giving any particulars as to the remaining stories. Perhaps the best of them are "L'Ile de Feu" and "Le Cheval Fou," while the "Duel à Vapeur," a piece of extravagant humour, is the least successful. But the whole book may be safely recommended.

BEAUTY'S DAUGHTERS.*

BEAUTY'S *Daughters*, as we know to our cost, is the third novel for which we are indebted to the anonymous author in the course of the last three years. We see no sufficient reason why she should not have written thirty, if her constitution and mechanical powers were only equal to the task. For novels of this kind need not involve the slightest strain on any one of the inventive faculties; and, having once struck into an easy line of her own, she follows it with an undeviating persistency which simplifies matters exceedingly. As we think we have had occasion to remark before, she seems to have taken for her models such lively feminine novelists as Miss Rhoda Broughton and Miss Helen Mathers, aping their unconventional methods and their more objectionable mannerisms, though at a great distance from them in point of ability. She has all their flippancy with none of their talent; yet, to do her justice, her style is in some respects original, and in its way it is very unmistakably realistic. She skims the most frivolous aspects of society, and evidently considers low comedy in dialogue to be her forte. Page after page, chapter after chapter, we have an exceedingly minute and exact reproduction of the very dullest and most rapid of small talk. Small as is the talk, still, as a rule, it is laboured—which at all events gives evidence of a certain conscientiousness; while we must add that she shows some retentiveness of memory, with a facility of adaptation within the range of her reading. When anything by comparison with the rest has the cheerful reflection of a sparkle, the chances are that it will be found to be travestied or taken without acknowledgment from the fancy of some popular novelist or poet.

The plot of *Beauty's Daughters* turns mainly on the vagaries of jealousy, or of the passions which may be supposed to pass for love. The author's characters, in the undefined inconsistencies of their

outlines, are all of almost identical type; and, though they flutter through their volatile existence in the most fashionable circles, their free-and-easy manners are brusque to roughness, while their conversation is vulgar, and sometimes almost coarse. As for their behaviour in the love-scenes which are perpetually recurring, of that we shall have more to say presently. Little as they have profited by education or by their social opportunities, all have been marvellously gifted by nature and fortune. The girls—the Daughters of Beauty—are lovely enough to play the parts of so many Vivians even with sages like Merlin; and, in fact, they have the masculine world at their feet, struggling or intriguing for their smiles or their hands. Nor are the men unworthy to aspire to such transcendent charms, whether from the point of view of the daughters or of their more practically minded mothers. Every man of them appears to have been born with a silver spoon in his mouth, save one, who is subsequently compensated for his original impecuniousness by succeeding to a peerage with 8,000*l.* a year. This 8,000*l.* a year is relatively very modest; for, as a rule, when the author condescends to pecuniary details, she gives her eligibles at least 15,000*l.* per annum, with sundry magnificent seats in the country and sumptuous mansions in town. But of course, in summing-up a lover's recommendations, a coronet must count for a good deal. Nor is it wealth alone that has fallen to the lot of those singularly fortunate sons of prosperity. Every one of them might stand to a sculptor for an Adonis, though the godlike gifts of form with which they are invested are made to vary so as to suit a variety of tastes. And if the author is compelled occasionally to repeat herself in dashing in their portraits with her glowing colours, we cannot find it in our heart to be hard upon her. No ordinary ingenuity could be equal to ringing the changes in the fervid epithets which her descriptions demand. By way of showing her descriptive powers at their best, we shall venture to make one or two quotations at haphazard; though by being capriciously torn from their settings, the gems may lose something of the lustre that should blind us to their flaws. Here we have the family group of the Tremaines—a group which includes enchanting sister-heroines, of the mystic number of the Graces, and the Fates, and the Goddesses who contested the apple on Mount Ida. The Tremaines "are all handsome—the Tremaines would have scorned to acknowledge an 'ugly duckling.' For generations such a thing had not been so much as hinted at among them. Mrs. Tremaine, though arrived at that age when the question of birthdays is viewed with disfavour, is still very good to look at, and eminently aristocratic. She rejoices in the thin, transparent nostrils, the fine lips, the pale blue eyes, and high white brow that are generally supposed to belong by right to blue blood." Moreover, she has "a lingering perfect smile"; and we would call special attention to the nervous idiomatic English which describes her as "still very good to look at." We take the well-preserved Mrs. Tremaine to be a unique illustration of the effects of judicious grafting in the human species; for although the lady was no Tremaine by birth, it is implied that she had acquired the looks of the family by marriage. Her only son Brandrum, familiarly and habitually known as Brandy, "has curly hair and blue eyes, and a smile like a cherub; and women, as a rule, pet him more than is good for him." So apparently does the War Office; for, though he tells us himself that he and his colonel are at daggers drawn, yet he manages to get leave all the year round from his regiment. The portrait of his second sister, Gretchen, suggests a masterpiece by Greuze in its exquisite poetry of cream and carmines. "Pretty Gretchen! with her pale pure face, and little Grecian nose and great blue eyes, that remind one of nothing so much as the sweet Czar violet. She is two years younger than Kitty, and smaller and slighter, with an expression unspeakably calm and tender. To think of Gretchen is to think of moonlight, or the soft perfume of roses, or faint strains of music. To see her is to love her. To know her is 'a liberal education.'" As to what this last assertion may mean we have not the faintest conception, more especially as, for anything we learn from her to the contrary, Gretchen's own education has been utterly neglected. But, as Thackeray somewhere observes of a bit of his most eloquent burlesque, we cannot help thinking it is "mighty pretty writing." Then for the companion "portrait of a gentleman" we may turn to that of Gretchen's future husband. "A very tall young man, and, though somewhat slight, finely formed. He is fair, with that rich nut-brown hair through which soft threads of gold run generously; his face is not so much handsome as very beautiful. His eyes are large and of an intense blue; eyes that, before misfortune clouded them, were friends to laughter, but are now sad with unutterable melancholy. His mouth beneath his light moustache is tender and mobile but firm," &c. Nor is the mistress-touch less playfully vigorous in its frolicsome treatment of inanimate nature. In the room where Gretchen makes Kenneth's acquaintance, where her heart is filled with "a great and sudden pity" as she meets those eyes clouded with misfortune, "the fond little sunbeams, too, lest they should be forgotten, have stolen in and are flecking all they touch with gold."

But lest the exquisite pathos of this somewhat sombre interview should be too much for the feelings of our readers, we must lead them away among brighter and happier love-scenes. Successive chapters are as resonant of kisses and expressions of endearment as ever were the groves of the island of Cythera or the love-sick lyre of Anacreon. Kissing fills as conspicuous a place in *Beauty's Daughters* as in *Phyllis* or *Molly Bawn*. In their amorous drollery the young ladies are always suggesting to their lovers

* *Beauty's Daughters*. By the Author of "Phyllis," "Molly Bawn," &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1880.

that they have forgotten to kiss, or that they might like to kiss, or that they may hope to be rewarded with a kiss, or punished by a kiss being withheld; while similar jokes are worked out at unquestionable length and in questionable taste in sprightly dialogues between wife and husband. That we may do full justice to the refinements of the author's style, we shall make another extract from one of these sparkling conversations. Should our readers find it dull, we can hardly recommend them to read the novel. Gretchen has been married to Kenneth of the eyes clouded by misfortune, who, through the skill of a rising young surgeon, has been put in a fair way of being cured of an accident that had crippled his spine. Thinking of a natural mode of expressing her gratitude to her husband's benefactor, she says:—

"Do you know, Ken"—solemnly—"I almost feel as if I could kiss him."
"Oh, don't, you know," says Mr. Dugdale, mildly, "I really wouldn't, you know, if I were you. He wouldn't like it. It would frighten him to death. And then it would be such a horribly one-sided affair, you see. I'm positive he wouldn't return it. Think of the disgrace of that!"
"That, on the contrary, would be another inducement to do it. Well, perhaps I may not go so far as to embrace him, but I shall certainly want to do it all the time."
"Poor Blunt!" says Kenneth.

There is a certain "Fancy" Charteris, a most fascinating widow, who has more to answer for as a mischief-maker than anybody. She is a professional beauty, whose position is so strong that she can afford to snub an exceedingly grand Duchess who has dared to be uncivil to her. Among all the men whom her witcheries have befooled, none behaves more idiotically than Mr. Arthur Blunden, who was originally introduced as an unimpassioned cynic whose strong point was shrewd common sense. "Fancy" has lured him on to throw him over, by way of revenge for his having spoken contemptuously of her. But the lady has been snared in her own bird-lime, and, after a passionate scene or two, in which she does the better half of the love-making, she surrenders at discretion, accepting him for her husband. We should have fancied that, knowing well what she is, if Blunden were really rash enough to wed her, he would have kept the upper hand till he led her to the altar. But not a bit of it. She befools him and plays fast and loose with him as before, and they are perpetually quarrelling, separating, and making it up again. Here we have a specimen of one of their reconciliations. She professes to doubt his protestations that he loves her a thousand times better than anything on earth:—

"Why?" says Arthur eagerly.
"Because"—coquettishly—"you have been here nearly ten minutes, and—"
"Yes?"
"You have never once kissed me," murmurs she, most unfairly, considering all things.
"My darling, how could I, when every glance you gave threatened to lay me? Fancy, is this just, or honest, or even kind?"
"If I am unjust, and dishonest, and unkind, as your words seem to imply, I wonder you stay with me. Why don't you say a harder thing still, and tell me I am ugly? And—I shan't have a whole bone left in my hand, you know, if you insist on holding it much longer! . . . To begin with, then, you may kiss me once—only once, mind—or, I warn you, I shall be dreadfully angry."

Nay, even the impassible Brandy Tremaine and his bosom friend "Dandie" Dinmont kiss and make friends again when they had quarrelled over Mrs. Charteris, precisely as if they were Gustave and Adolphe in a French vaudeville. There is a passage remarkable for its naive unconsciousness of the nature of her work, in which the author expresses devout gratitude to a certain Lady Cyclamen for neglecting to make some investigations. Had Lady Cyclamen cleared up certain misapprehensions, "this third volume would have been nowhere." For ourselves, as we need hardly say, we feel anything but thankful to Lady Cyclamen. She is perhaps one of the least objectionable persons in the story; but had her negligence spared us two of the volumes, we should have been still more prepossessed in her favour.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

THE late Marquess Gino Capponi (1) is one of the most interesting figures of modern Italian society, alike as a distinguished member of one of the chief centres of intellectual cultivation in Italy, and for the remarkable destiny which gave him his principal celebrity as an author and a statesman after he had been afflicted with total blindness. The designation of statesman may seem to be in excess of the claims of one whose political career was so brief, and whose tenure of office was from the first avowedly provisional; but Capponi was significant as a type of the moderate, cultivated, sincerely patriotic Italian Liberal, whose misfortune it was to have been born too soon to have imbibed the national passion for unity, and to have fancied until a very late period that his countrymen would consent to be Tuscans when they could be Italians. He adhered to the Austrian ruler of Tuscany as long as he could; but the events of 1859 finally effected for him what they have failed to effect for his biographer, whose panacea for Italy is at this hour to "restore the heptarchy." With these prepossessions on our author's part, Capponi's opinions may not improbably have received a tinge which he himself would have disclaimed. In every other point of view Herr von Reumont is most fully qualified for

(1) Gino Capponi. *Ein Zeit- und Lebensbild*. Von Alfred von Reumont. Gotha: Perthes. London: Williams & Norgate.

the office of biographer by his intimate knowledge alike of the deceased and of the circle in which he moved. Giusti, Giordani, Colletta, Tommaseo, Guerrazzi, and other eminent Italians are carefully portrayed; and Capponi's relations to such distinguished foreign visitors as Ampère and Mrs. Somerville are not overlooked. As an author, Capponi's fame will rest principally on his *History of the Florentine Republic*, one of the few modern Italian books which will take rank as classics, and especially remarkable as the work of a man bereaved of sight and stricken in years. His literary activity was in other respects considerable and influential. He was a leading member of the Accademia della Crusca, bestowed considerable attention upon Italian philology, especially in relation to the popular speech of Tuscany, and laboured with great effect in the arrangement and publication of the Tuscan archives and in popular education. He would have been a perfect model of the aristocratic man of letters and affairs had his perception of the tendencies of his times been more lively and accurate. He has been fortunate in meeting with a biographer who shares his views and feelings to an extent which might hardly have been the case if his life had been written by an Italian.

Professor W. Müller (2) cannot be blamed for deeming the history of his own country of capital importance; it is nevertheless the fact that the prominence thus accorded to German affairs renders the history of a dull year duller than it need have been in the hands of an historian of more comprehensive views. The history of Germany for 1879 is mainly one of injudicious changes in the tariff, abortive negotiations with the Pope, and an electoral victory for Prince Bismarck which has so far failed to bring forth the fruits of victory. Nihilist assassinations, Cabul massacres, and the tragic end of the Prince Imperial, afford almost the only picturesque incidents of the year, and only the first-named offer much scope for an historian like Professor Müller, who is everywhere accurate and reasonably impartial, but to whom all occurrences are interesting in the ratio of their liability to affect Prince Bismarck.

Herr Julius Hartung (3) very candidly disclaims all expectation that any reader of his book will read it long. This modest diffidence is undoubtedly well grounded; yet the fault is not with the author, but with the subject. No human ability could make Herr Hartung's investigations lively; but they are in nowise uninteresting or unimportant, relating to the wholesale fabrication and falsification of charters and similar documents in the middle ages, a point which evidently has the most direct bearing upon the authenticity of history. He selects the archives of the Abbey of Fulda as the principal object of examination, and, by a course of reasoning intelligible only to experts, endeavours to show that they are very largely falsified and interpolated. He even suspects that the monks of Fulda made a trade of forging documents for other monasteries.

The memoirs of J. E. Bollmann (4) are exceedingly interesting, alike on account of the adventurous character of the hero, and of his intimate connexion with many persons of distinction, both in the Old World and the New. Bollmann was a West Indian who, when a medical student at Paris during the French Revolution, made the acquaintance of Mme. de Staël, and was induced by her to procure the escape of the Count de Narbonne, in which he succeeded. He then undertook a more adventurous enterprise of the same nature—the deliverance of Lafayette from his imprisonment in Olmütz. The failure of this undertaking, which however had all but succeeded, consigned Bollmann himself to an Austrian prison. Upon his liberation he proceeded to the United States, where his exertions in Lafayette's cause recommended him to Washington, of whom he has left a just and striking portrait. He was nevertheless unsuccessful in business, incurred a prosecution by his reputed share in Burr's conspiracy, and only towards the close of his life began to retrieve his fortunes by his connexion with the house of Baring, which employed him on several commissions. His letters are highly interesting as testimonies of the impression made by the young American Republic upon a vigorous and sanguine nature.

The splendid illustrated work on Spain (5) by Herr T. Simons and Professor Alexander Wagner has reached Part VI. The latter parts are chiefly occupied by a description of Madrid, rich in delineations both of public buildings and of the manners of the people. All the sketches of the latter are most lively, especially those devoted to the national amusement of bull-fighting. Two of Velasquez's superb realistic portraits are also engraved on a large scale. The text is clear and interesting, and the work, as a whole, should be equally attractive to those who have and those who have not seen Spain.

The studies of Herr Victor Schultze (6) in Christian archaeology are somewhat desultory, and the book as a whole is not very readable. It may, however, serve as a useful book of reference on many points, especially as the writer displays considerable inde-

(2) *Politische Geschichte der Gegenwart. Das Jahr 1879*. Von W. Müller. Berlin: Springer. London: Williams & Norgate.

(3) *Diplomatisch-historische Forschungen*. Von Julius Hartung. Gotha: Perthes. London: Williams & Norgate.

(4) *Justus Erich Bollmann. Ein Lebensbild aus beiden Welttheilen*. Herausgegeben von F. Kapp. Berlin: Springer. London: Nutt.

(5) *Spanien*. In *Schilderungen* von T. Simons, reich illustriert von Professor Alexander Wagner. Lief. 3-6. Berlin: Paetel. London: Trübner & Co.

(6) *Archäologische Studien über altchristliche Monumente*. Von Victor Schultze. Wien: Braumüller. London: Williams & Norgate.

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pendence of judgment, and is not afraid of contradicting Garrucci and other recognized authorities. For Garrucci's judgment, indeed, he displays but scant respect, and accuses him of highly idealizing his representations of the objects depicted by him. Garrucci, with Rossi and Marchi, and Italian archaeologists in general, are also, he maintains, liable to the reproach of unconsciously perverting scientific research to dogmatic ends. On this point the monuments themselves speak sufficiently in Herr Schultze's favour. It must require strong prepossessions indeed to behold, with De Rossi, "a sublime epic of Christian dogma" in a sarcophagus sculptured with representations of the most ordinary subjects from Biblical history. Nothing is more characteristic of early Christian art than its undogmatic character; it may almost be said that for the first three centuries only two dogmas are expressed by it, Baptism and the Resurrection. The earliest representation of the Virgin and Child belongs to the second half of the second century, and is conceived in a purely human spirit. St. Peter is never represented apart from the other apostles until the time of Constantine. The Good Shepherd is the centre of Christian symbolism up to the establishment of Christianity as a State religion; the famous monogram of the fish is the watchword of the persecuted community; and, whatever of Biblical illustration may occur, as in the instances of Moses and Jonah, is usually typical of the baptismal ceremony or the doctrine of the Resurrection. Herr Schultze has also some valuable remarks on the æsthetic character of early Christian art, which derived its vitality entirely from classical art, and participated in the decay of the latter.

Another book relating to Christian symbolism is W. Rossmann's exceedingly agreeable account of his visits to churches, convents, and shrines in Italy and the East (7). The author of *The Coast of the Cyclop and the Sirens* is a man of the highest culture, and he has brought not only great attainments, but a liberal and tolerant spirit, to the subject of his present scrutiny. In a series of chapters on the services of Passion Week at St. Peter's he interprets their symbolism and traces the numerous vestiges of more ancient rites which they exhibit. Another essay treats of the Ammergau Passion Play, describing the actual representation as it now takes place, and pointing out its analogies to the originally religious inspiration of the Greek drama and to the miracle plays of the mediæval period in general. A history of the Ammergau performance is appended. Another chapter contains a circumstantial and highly interesting account of a visit to Mount Athos; while another describes the Holy Places at and near Jerusalem, with a description of the ceremonial of Holy Week. Herr Rossmann's leaning with regard to the identity of the sacred spots is usually in favour of the received tradition.

Dr. Luthardt's (8) discourses on the practical consequences of modern philosophical and religious theories are chiefly designed to establish the pernicious consequences of the rationalistic principle. Unfortunately, among these consequences he enumerates such things as free trade and the abolition of the theatrical censorship; he would even re-enact the usury laws. It seems altogether too humorous to persuade a subject of Prince Bismarck that he suffers from an excess of liberty; and religious orthodoxy is ill served when it is represented as inevitably associated with a reactionary spirit in politics.

The preface to Dr. Erdmann's edition of Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (9) contains some interesting remarks on the state of the text, and Kant's style of composition in general. It appears that he had a singular indisposition to correct the press himself.

The late Ferdinand Hitzig's lectures upon Biblical theology (10) and the Messianic predictions of the Old Testament are rather notes than finished compositions, and are necessarily dry reading for those who do not possess that familiarity with the subject which the Professor expected from his audience. By readers thus qualified they will be found interesting and suggestive, especially for the discrimination between the mythical and genuine Messianic prophecies, the connexion of the latter with theocratic ideas, and the excursions on such controverted points as the meaning of "Servant of Jehovah." A memoir of the author and some specimens of his correspondence are appended. Hitzig appears to have been the type of a German professor in everything except his entire freedom from haziness of thought and expression; blunt, uncompromising, simple-minded but acute, and not without a touch of austerity, derived perhaps from the Hebrew writers to whom his life was devoted.

It is little to the credit of England that one of the most important of Wickliffe's controversial tracts (11) should have been left to be edited by a German, while others, it appears, have not as yet been edited at all. The importance of the great English Reformer's treatise "On Christ and Antichrist" does not so much consist in any special novelty as in its representing the ultimate phase of his opinions, having been composed in the last or the penultimate year

of his life. Its tone is uncompromisingly anti-Papal, although Wickliffe still hesitates to pronounce the Pope necessarily Antichrist, except in so far as his personal conduct may be anti-Christian. The argument is clearly and logically drawn out, and, as Dr. Buddensieg observes, the invectives against the Papacy which, when cited apart from their context, afford ground for charging Wickliffe with intemperance and acrimony, wear a different appearance when read in their proper connexion. The complete publication of Wickliffe's writings is therefore desirable in the interest of his reputation.

Professor Sprinzl's work on the theology of the Apostolic Fathers (12) is a genuine scientific treatise such as the Roman communion rarely produces in these times, and will sustain a comparison with any Protestant work of its class in point of impartiality and objectivity. The principal drawback to its value is the serious doubt whether, with the exception of Clemens Romanus, any of the Fathers of whom it treats deserve to be regarded as Apostolic in any sense. In the present state of the controversy, Professor Sprinzl cannot be taxed with credulity in ascribing Barnabas and Hermas to the first century, and maintaining the genuineness of the shorter recension of the Ignatian epistles, although the latter thesis involves the admission that saints and martyrs may be very commonplace and uninteresting in their capacity of authors. The curious thing is that, after having ably defended the genuineness of these writings on the ground of external testimony, when he comes to the Epistle to Diognetus he shifts his ground, and, on the score of what he regards as satisfactory internal evidence, confidently refers this wholly unauthenticated production to the very beginning of the second century. No rationalizing theologian ever trusted more to his inner consciousness. It must be admitted that, without Ignatius and Diognetus, Dr. Sprinzl must have renounced the attempt to extract a coherent system of theology from the scanty literary remains of the early Church.

The zoological and anthropological section of the *Encyclopædia of Natural Science*, edited by Dr. G. Jäger (13), has advanced to the end of letter B.

Although Germany is the land of philologists and grammarians, German grammar and orthography are notoriously in an unsettled condition. Herr Andresen (14) has done his part towards the attainment of a uniform standard by an interesting volume, pointing out a great number of the inaccuracies and ambiguities frequent in modern German prose, especially newspaper prose, showing at the same time what ought to have been said, and why. His book is commendably free from the acerbity which has characterized some essays of a similar purpose in England.

The most recent volume of the International Scientific Library is a full but compact treatise on the mechanism of the vocal organs, by Professor von Meyer (15).

The first part of a series of philological essays, to be published at irregular intervals by A. Kiessling and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (16), proceeds almost entirely from the pen of the latter, and is devoted to the history and polity of Attica. The principal contents are an oration, which must have excessively taxed the patience of the auditors, on the grandeur of the Athenian Empire, followed by eleven excursions on points connected with the same, for which room could not be found in the discourse. An elaborate essay on the municipal history of Athens from Cæcrops to Pericles is of a piece with the rest. While, however, Herr Wilamowitz's disquisitions are surcharged with matter, his style would be a model of brevity were it not also a model of baldness. It is not quite apparent whether he considers himself to be in any degree expounding or popularizing his subject.

The "modern Egyptian" of Herr Adolf Erman's grammar (17) does not denote, as might have been conjectured, the Coptic, but the ancient language as it existed about the time of the Twentieth Dynasty. The author's reason for the selection of this particular epoch is the greater adaptability of the literary monuments belonging to it to the purposes of philological science. The grammar is lithographed, it is very copious, and the patronage of so distinguished an Egyptologist as Lepsius justifies the inference that it is very valuable. The examples are exceedingly numerous, and are given both in hieroglyphic and in a transliterated form. As, however, some preliminary knowledge of the subject is assumed, no explanation of the art of reading hieroglyphics is given, and the book will be serviceable to those only who have already made some progress in Egyptian studies.

In *Brigitta* (18) Berthold Auerbach has returned in a measure to the manner of his first village stories, and with good effect. This pathetic tale is put into the mouth of a woman whose narra-

(12) *Die Theologie der apostolischen Väter. Eine dogmengeschichtliche Monographie.* Von Dr. J. Sprinzl. Wien: Braumüller. London: Williams & Norgate.

(13) *Encyclopædie der Naturwissenschaft.* Herausgegeben von Dr. G. Jäger, &c. Abth. 1, Lief. 11. Breslau: Treves. London: Nutt.

(14) *Sprachegebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit in Deutschen.* Von K. G. Andresen. Heilbronn: Henninger. London: Williams & Norgate.

(15) *Unsere Sprachwerkzeuge und ihre Verwendung zur Bildung der Sprachlaute.* Von G. H. von Meyer. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Kolkemann.

(16) *Philologische Untersuchungen.* Herausgegeben von A. Kiessling und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Hft. 1. Berlin: Weidmann. London: Nutt.

(17) *Neuegyptische Grammatik.* Von A. Erman. Leipzig: Engelmann. London: Williams & Norgate.

(18) *Brigitta. Erzählung.* Von Berthold Auerbach. Stuttgart: Cotta. London: Williams & Norgate.

(7) *Gastfahrten. Reise-Erfahrungen und Studien.* Von W. Rossmann. Leipzig: Grunow. London: Williams & Norgate.

(8) *Die modernen Weltanschauungen und ihre praktischen Konsequenzen.* Von Dr. C. E. Luthardt. Leipzig: Dörfling und Franks. London: Williams & Norgate.

(9) *Immanuel Kant's Kritik der Urtheilskraft.* Herausgegeben von R. Erdmann. Leipzig: Voss. London: Williams & Norgate.

(10) *Dr. F. Hitzig's Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie und Messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments.* Herausgegeben von J. J. Kuencker. Karlsruhe: Reuther. London: Williams & Norgate.

(11) *De Christo et suo adversario Antichristo.* Ein polemischer Tractat Johann Wiclifs zum ersten Male herausgegeben. Von Dr. R. Buddensieg. Gotha: Perthes. London: Nutt.

tive preserves the attractiveness of the simple story of a humble person, avoiding at the same time the frequent irrelevancy and tediousness of such narratives. The only question is whether the art that simulates nature is not sometimes rather too apparent. The moral tone is admirable throughout.

The extraordinary popularity of the "Mirza Schaffy" (19) songs in Germany has always been a surprise to foreign students of German literature. Popular in a measure they might well be; but one would not have expected lyrics professedly in the Oriental taste, however thin the disguise of Orientalism, to have attained in the Western world the circulation of a Longfellow. To readers unacquainted with the original, Mr. d'Esterre's translation will but deepen the mystery. His verbal fidelity is commendable; but the gaiety of the text, itself nowhere overweighed with meaning or feeling, becomes in the translation mere commonplace.

The Sanscrit poet Kalidasa (10) has been much more fortunate in his translator. His *Meghaduta*, or "Messenger Cloud," a poem remarkable for its brilliant descriptions of Indian scenery, is rendered by Herr L. Fritze into animated and sonorous verse. It is only to be regretted that Herr Fritze has not adopted the genuine octave stanza, instead of a modification which seriously impairs its rhythmical balance and symmetry of form.

(19) *The Songs of Mirza Schaffy*. Translation by E. d'Esterre. Hamburg: Gräbener. London: Nutt.

(20) *Meghaduta, das ist, Der Wolkenbote*. Ein Gedicht von Kalidasa. Aus dem Sanskrit metrisch übersetzt von L. Fritze. Chemnitz: Schmeitzner. London: Williams & Norgate.

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We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected Communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

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The Debentures are to Bearer, and are redeemable at par by Annual Drawings, or by
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The Annual Amount guaranteed by the Brazilian Government
is 7 per cent. on £618,300, namely..... £43,281

The Interest and Sinking Fund of the present issue of Debentures
are a first charge on this sum and will absorb 25,781

Leaving a Balance of Guaranteed Revenue of..... £17,500

Issue Price 90 per cent.

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will be issued to the Scrip Certificate.
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If any instalment is not duly paid the allotment will be liable to cancellation and payments
previously made to forfeiture.

The form of Debenture is appended to the Prospectus.
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forwarded to Messrs. C. COOPER, HALL, & CO., 46 Lombard Street, London, or to Messrs.
MARTIN & CO., Bankers, 66 Lombard Street, London, of either of whom Prospectuses can be
obtained.

London, July 16, 1880.
The Subscription List will be opened on Monday, July 19, and will be closed on or before
Wednesday, July 21, 1880.

The following official information has been given by the Company:

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General Manager—EDMUND ETTLINGER, Esq.

OFFICES: 60 QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, E.C.

THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN NATAL and NOVA CRUZ RAILWAY COMPANY, Limited,
was incorporated on November 9, 1878, for constructing and working a Railway from the Har-
bour of Natal, in the Province of Rio Grande do Norte, to the City of Nova Cruz, in the same
Province, a distance of about seventy-five miles.

The Concession of the Railway is in perpetuity, but subject to a power reserved to the
Imperial Government to purchase the Line after Thirty years at a price to be reckoned, in
default of agreement, on the average net revenue of the last Five years, but not less than the
amount of the Guaranteed Capital, and to be payable in 6 per cent. Imperial Brazilian
Government Stock.

By Decrees of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, interest is guaranteed at 7 per cent.
per annum for the first 30 years, with a provision that half the surplus
profits above 8 per cent. per annum shall be paid to the Government until reimbursed its
advances for interest under the guarantee.

The capital of the Company is £368,000, divided as follows:

Debentures.....	£368,000
12,500 Preferred Shares of £30 each.....	£375,000
9,000 Deferred Shares of £30 each.....	£270,000
	£1,013,000

The Preferred Shares for £375,000 have been issued and the full amount subscribed and re-
ceived.

The Deferred Shares which are to be taken by the Contractors in lieu of cash receive no
dividend until a Cumulative Dividend of 7 per cent. per annum has been paid on the Preferred
Shares.

The Debentures for £368,000 in 3,680 Debentures of £100 each, bear interest at the rate of 5½
per cent. per annum, payable by Coupons half-yearly in London, on the first days of April
and October in each year, with a sinking fund of 1½ per cent. per annum for the redemption
of the principal within 30 years out of the 7 per cent. interest guaranteed by the Imperial and
Provincial Governments, and are secured as a first charge by Deed, dated July 14, 1880, by
which the interest guaranteed by the Governments on £368,000 and all other Revenues of the
Railway are assigned to Messrs. RICHARD BIDDLEFEE MARTIN, of 68 Lombard Street,
London, Banker, and CHARLES RICHARD FENWICK, of Abchurch Chambers, Abchurch Lane,
London, Merchant, as Trustees for the Debenture Holders.

The sum required for interest and sinking fund on the whole issue of Debentures is £25,781
per annum, the amount guaranteed by the Brazilian Government being £43,281, leaving
£17,500 for interest on the Preferred Shares.

The Line is under contract for completion by July 1, 1881, for the total sum of £960,000, which
includes cost of Concession, purchase of land, rolling stock, stations, &c., and a provision for
the Administration expenses during construction.

The time limited by the Government Decree for the completion of the works does not expire
until October 18, 1883.

Messrs. Sir CHARLES FOX & SONS, the Company's Engineers, whose Official Report is annexed,
state that the works of the Railway are far advanced, and are being carried out with great
activity, there being over 2,600 men employed; that nearly all the permanent-way materials
and other ironwork, and a considerable portion of the rolling-stock, have been delivered on
the works, and that the remainder of the rolling-stock is in course of manufacture. Their
Report further states that at the present rate of progress the line will be completed by January
next.

Messrs. Sir CHARLES FOX & SONS' report to the Government on the course of the Line and its
construction and cost contains full particulars of the district traversed and estimates of a very
satisfactory traffic, the summary of their Report showing an estimated net traffic return equal
to more than the amount guaranteed by the Government.

The sanction of the Government for the raising of the £368,000 in Debentures, being the
balance of the Guaranteed Capital of £618,300, of which the £250,000 Preferred Shares already
subscribed and paid up in full is part, is certified by the following letter from His Excellency
the Brazilian Minister to the Secretary of the Company.

"Brazilian Legation,

"London, June 3, 1880.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 27 last, in which
you inform me that the IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN NATAL and NOVA CRUZ RAILWAY COM-
PANY, Limited, are about to issue £368,000 in Debentures, bearing 5½ per cent. per annum
interest, and 1½ per cent. per annum Sinking Fund, making together the 7 per cent. guaran-
teed by the Imperial Brazilian Government, the proposed issue being the balance of the
Guaranteed Capital, as authorized by the Imperial Decree, No. 7048, of October 18, 1878.

"In reply to your letter I have to state that the Company is authorized to raise and call up
at once the said sum of £368,000, being the balance of Guaranteed Capital, and that the guaran-
teed interest of 7 per cent. is payable thereon for 30 years, half-yearly, in London, reckoning
from the date of the deposits with the Company's bankers, and the Certificates thereof, being
lodged with the Delegate of the Imperial Treasury in London.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

"FENEDO."

Copies of the Memorandum and Articles of Association, and Special Resolutions of the Com-
pany, the Trust Deed, the Government Concession and Decree, Transfer, Contracts, Reports,
and other Documents, can be inspected at the Company's Offices.

ENGINEERS' REPORT.

July 1, 1880.

To the Chairman and Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Natal and Nova Cruz
Railway Company, Limited.

GENTLEMEN,—Since the date of our Report of March 15 last every effort has been made by
the Contractors to push forward the construction of this Railway, and we are glad to report
that the works have been carried on to our satisfaction.

In order to avoid any delay in the setting out of the works, additional engineers were sent
out to strengthen the staff, and, by the employment of a large number of men, the earthworks
have, in spite of the rainy season, now about to terminate, been carried on very rapidly, and
follow closely upon the engineering parties. The construction of the bridges and culverts,
the erection of the fencing and telegraph, the laying of the permanent way, and the prepara-
tion of the various station buildings, machine shops, and water supply show good progress.

Our Resident Engineer telegraphs us from Brazil, under yesterday's date, that the permanent
way has been completed for a length of 27 miles (out of a total length of 75 miles), and that
2,600 men are employed upon the works. He confirms our opinion that, at the present rate of
progress, the Railway will be ready for opening throughout by January next.

We have already reported the arrival in Brazil of the *Sarmiento*, *Chiswick*, *Nova*, *Allen*,
and *Palo Alto*, laden with materials for this railway. Since then the following vessels have
been despatched, and their arrival has been duly advised—viz. the *Lucile*, *Glenlogie*, *James*
Miller, *Walter Plummer*, *Granada*, *Capri*, *Larch*, and *Edward Johnson*; the *Mary C. Conway*
is on her voyage out, and the *Rialto* is under charter.

Almost the whole of the materials required to be imported have, therefore, now been received
in Brazil.

A portion of the locomotives and rolling stock have also been delivered, and the remainder
are in course of manufacture in this country.

We are, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES FOX & SONS.

£368,300 5½ per cent. Debentures of the
IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN NATAL and NOVA CRUZ RAILWAY
COMPANY, Limited.

No. FORM OF APPLICATION.

Messrs. C. COOPER, HALL, & CO.

GENTLEMEN,—Having paid to your credit with Messrs. MARTIN & CO., Bankers, 66
Lombard Street, London, the sum of £..... being deposit of 25 per Debenture on
of the above Debentures of the IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN NATAL and NOVA CRUZ
RAILWAY COMPANY, Limited, I request you to allot me that number of Debentures, and I
agree to accept and take the same or any less number that may be allotted to me, on the terms
of your prospectus of July 16, 1880, *and I desire to pay up such Debentures in full upon
allotment.

Name in full.....
Address.....
Description.....
Date..... July 1880
Signed.....

* These words to be struck out if the Subscriber does not desire to pay up the Debentures
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Best do. do. 50s. 6d.

WARDROBES, Hanging Presses.

Japanned Maple, Oak, &c. from 60s. Polished Pine, from 117s. 6d. Solid Mahogany or Walnut, from 72s. 6d.

Complete Suites in Solid Mahogany or Walnut, comprising Hanging Press, Chest of Drawers, Washstand with marble top, and Towel Rail, Dressing-Table, Toilet Glass, and Two Chairs, from £10 9s.

DINING-ROOM FURNITURE.

Mahogany CHAIRS, covered in Leather, stuffed Hair and Spring Seats, from 25s.; do. do. in Hair Cloth, 18s. 6d. Mahogany COUCHES in Hair Cloth, 62s. 6d.; do. do. in Leather, 130s. Mahogany DINING TABLES, telescopic action, best 105s.; do. do. second quality, 85s. Mahogany or Walnut SIDEBORDS, 84s.; do. do. PLATE-GLASS Backs, 115s. EASY CHAIRS, stuffed Horsehair, Spring Seats, 37s. 6d.

FURNITURE for DRAWING-ROOMS.

Couches, Settees, Ottomans, Easy and Fancy Chairs, Centre Tables, Work Tables, Occasional Tables, and Card Tables, Chiffoniers and Cabinets, Davenport and Whatnots, Music Cabinets and Stools. The above in Walnut, Black and Gold, and Fancy Woods.

GASALIERS in great variety, for Dining, Drawing-Rooms, Libraries, and Offices. Comprising Bronze of many shades, Polished Brass, Ormolu, and Ormolu with China Dish and Vase. Also, Single, Double, and Treble Brackets, for side-lighting: 2-lights Gasaliers, from 25s.; 3-lights Gasaliers, from 35s.; 5-lights Gasaliers, from 80s.; Brackets, from 2s.; Hall and Vestibule Lamps, from 12s.

DISH COVERS.—Best Block Tin, 16s. 9d. to 82s. the Set. Britannia Metal, Plated Handles, 73s. 6d. to £6 16s. the Set. Nickel Plated on Steel Covers, very durable, require no cleaning, £5 1s. the Set. Electro Silver, £7 to £21 the Set.

its Suburbs as under:

WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY: Crouch End, Hampstead, Highgate, Hornsey.

THURSDAY: Anerley, Forest Hill, Norwood, Sydenham.

FRIDAY: Acton, Barnes, Battersea, Blackheath, Cade Bar, Ealing, Ealing, Greenwich, Lee, Lewisham, Putney, Wandsworth, Wimbledon.

SATURDAY: Stamford Hill.